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## THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

VIII



# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

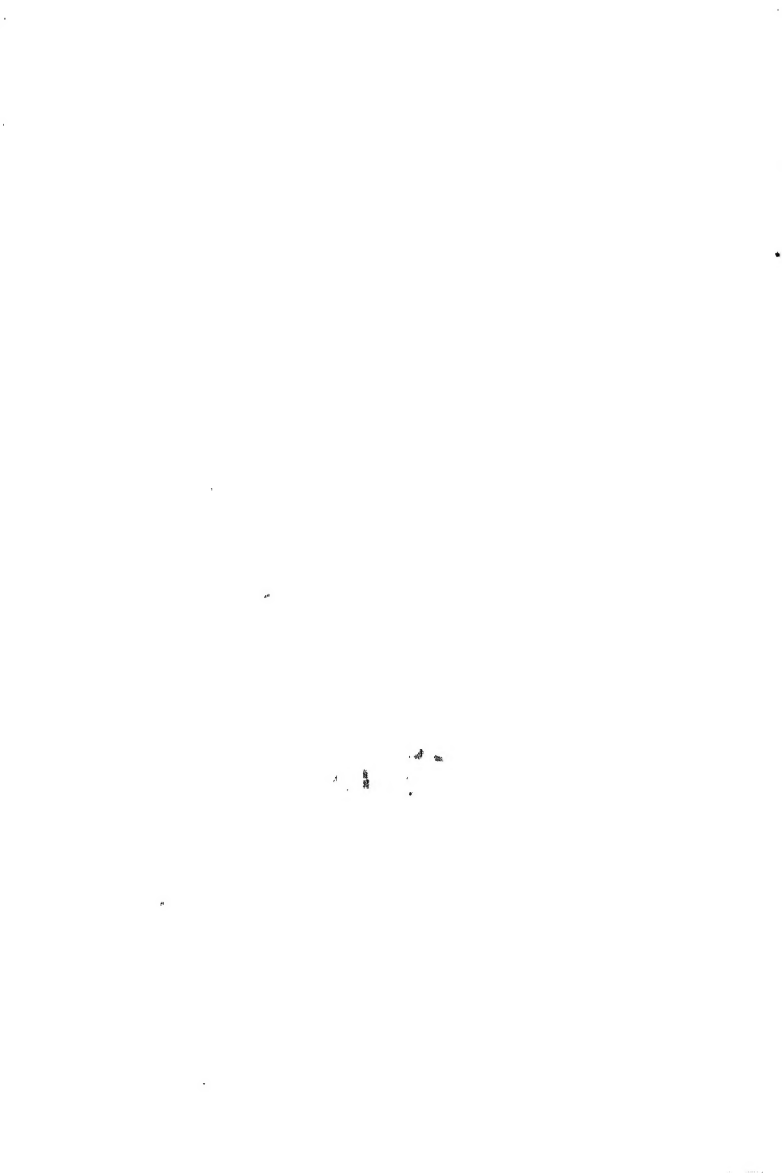
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THE  
GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO  
BOOK XVII

# ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΩΝ

## ΙΖ'

### Ι

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐφοδεύοντες καὶ τοὺς κόλπους συμπεριελάβομεν τοὺς σφίγγοντας αὐτὴν καὶ ποιούντας χερρόνησον, τὸν Περσικὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον, τούτῳ δὲ τινα συμπεριωδεύθη καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, τὰ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς κινναμωμοφόρου, τὰ λειπόμενα καὶ συνεχῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τούτοις, ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον, ἐκθετέον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν Λιβύην ἔπιμεν, ἥπερ ἐστὶ λοιπὴ τῆς συμπάσης γεωγραφίας. κἀνταῦθα δ' Ἑρατοσθένους ἀποφάσεις προεκθετέον.

2. Φησὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν ἑννακοσίους ἢ χιλίους<sup>1</sup> σταδίου διέχειν τὸν Νεῖλου, παραπλήσιον ὄντα κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα<sup>2</sup> τῷ γράμματι τῷ Ν<sup>3</sup> κειμένῳ ἀνάπαλιν· ῥυεῖς γάρ, φησὶν, ἀπὸ Μερόης ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρκτους ὡς δισχιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους, πάλιν ἀναστρέφει πρὸς<sup>4</sup> μεσημβρίαν καὶ τὴν χειμερινὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἑννακοσίους ἢ χιλίους, Groskurd, for ἑννακισχιλίους (F has α in margin); ἑννακοσίους, Corais; χιλίους, Kramer.

<sup>2</sup> σχῆμα, C. Müller, for στόμα. Meineke rejects κατὰ τὸ στόμα.

<sup>3</sup> τῷ νυ EFDr, though D has N above νυ.

# THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO

## BOOK XVII

### I

1. SINCE, in my description of Arabia, I have also included the gulfs which pinch it and make it a peninsula, I mean the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, and at the same time have gone the rounds of certain parts both of Aegypt and of Aethiopia, I mean the countries of the Troglodytes and the peoples situated in order thereafter as far as the Cinnamon-bearing country, I must now set forth the remaining parts that are continuous with these tribes, that is, the parts in the neighbourhood of the Nile; and after this I shall traverse Libya, which is the last remaining subject of my whole geography. And here too I must first set forth the declarations of Eratosthenes.

2. Now according to him the Nile is nine hundred or a thousand stadia distant towards the west from the Arabian Gulf, and is similar in shape to the letter N written reversed; <sup>1</sup> for after flowing, he says, from Meroë towards the north about two thousand seven hundred stadia, it turns back towards the south and the winter sunset about three thousand

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* N. This is true, roughly speaking, of the course of the Nile from Meroë to Syenê (see critical note).

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<sup>4</sup> D<sup>h</sup> insert τήν after πρὸς.



δύσιν ὡς τρισχιλίους καὶ ἑπτακοσίους σταδίους,  
 καὶ σχεδὸν ἀντάρας τοῖς κατὰ Μερόην τόποις καὶ  
 εἰς τὴν Λιβύην πολλὴ προπεσών<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν  
 ἐπιστροφήν ποιησάμενος πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους φέρεται  
 πεντακισχιλίους μὲν καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους  
 ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν καταράκτην, μικρὸν παρεπι-  
 στρέφων πρὸς τὴν ἑω, χιλίους δὲ καὶ διακοσίους  
 τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν ἐλάττω τὸν κατὰ Συήνην, πεντακισ-  
 χιλίους δὲ ἄλλους καὶ τριακοσίους ἐπὶ τὴν  
 θάλατταν. ἐμβάλλουσι δ' εἰς αὐτὸν δύο ποταμοί,  
 φερόμενοι μὲν ἔκ τινων λιμνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑω, περι-  
 λαμβάνοντες δὲ νῆσον εὐμεγέθη τὴν Μερύην· ὧν  
 ὁ μὲν Ἀσταβόρας καλεῖται κατὰ τὸ πρὸς ἑω  
 πλευρὸν ῥέων, ἄτερος δ' Ἀστάπους· οἱ δ' Ἀστα-  
 σόβαν καλοῦσι, τὸν δ' Ἀστάπουν ἄλλον εἶναι,  
 ῥέοντα ἔκ τινων λιμνῶν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας, καὶ  
 σχεδὸν τὸ κατ' εὐθείαν σῶμα τοῦ Νείλου τοῦτον  
 ποιεῖν· τὴν δὲ πλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ τοὺς θερινοὺς  
 ὄμβρους παρασκευάζειν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὰς συμβο-  
 λὰς τοῦ Ἀσταβόρα καὶ τοῦ Νείλου σταδίοις  
 ἑπτακοσίοις Μερόην εἶναι πόλιν ὁμώνυμον τῇ  
 νήσῳ· ἄλλην δ' εἶναι νῆσον ὑπὲρ τῆς Μερόης, ἣν  
 ἔχουσιν οἱ Αἰγυπτίων φυγάδες οἱ ἀποστάντες  
 ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> Ψαμμητίχου,<sup>3</sup> καλοῦνται δὲ Σεμβρίται, ὡς  
 ἂν ἐπήλυδες· βασιλεύονται δὲ ὑπὸ γυναικός,  
 ὑπακούουσι<sup>4</sup> δὲ τῶν ἐν Μερόῃ. τὰ δὲ κατωτέρω  
 ἑκατέρωθεν Μερόης, παρὰ μὲν τὸν Νεῖλον πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> προπεσών D, προσπεσών other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπί, Corais emends to ἀπό, citing Herodotus 2. 30; and so Meineke, but both ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου and ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου are found in that passage.

<sup>3</sup> Ψαμμητίχου CDFHinz.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπακούουσι, Corais emends to ἐπαρχούσης (cp. 16. 4. 8).

seven hundred stadia, and after almost reaching the same parallel as that of the region of Meroë and projecting far into Libya and making the second turn, flows towards the north the thousand three hundred stadia to the great cataract, turning aside slightly towards the east, and then one thousand two hundred stadia to the smaller cataract at Syenê, and then five thousand three hundred more to the sea. Two rivers empty into it, which flow from some lakes on the east and enclose Meroë, a rather large island. One of these rivers, which flows on the eastern side of the island, is called Astaboras<sup>1</sup> and the other is called Astapus,<sup>2</sup> though some call it Astasobas and say that another river, which flows from some lakes from the south,<sup>3</sup> is the Astapus and that this river forms almost all the straight part of the body of the Nile, and that it is filled by the summer rains. Above the confluence of the Astaboras and the Nile, he says, at a distance of seven hundred stadia, lies Meroë, a city bearing the same name as the island; and there is another island above Meroë which is held by the Aegyptian fugitives who revolted in the time of Psammitichus, and are called "Sembritae," meaning "foreigners."<sup>4</sup> They are ruled by a queen, but they are subject to the kings of Meroë.<sup>5</sup> The lower parts of the country on either side of Meroë, along the Nile towards the

<sup>1</sup> Now Athara or Takazze.

<sup>2</sup> Now Bahr el-Abiad.

<sup>3</sup> Now Bahr el-Asrek.

<sup>4</sup> See 16. 4. 8. According to Herodotus (2. 30), the original number of these fugitives was 240,000 (see Rawlinson's note, Vol. II, p. 37).

<sup>5</sup> This statement is inconsistent with that in 16. 4. 8, which, however, appears to have been taken from Artemidorus.

θάλατταν ἐκβολῶν.<sup>1</sup> καὶ μὴν οἱ γε Αἰθίοπες τὸ πλεον νομαδικῶς ζῶσι καὶ ἀπόρως διὰ τε τὴν λυπρότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀέρων ἀσυμμετρίαν καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐκτοπισμόν, τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἅπαντα τὰναντία συμβέβηκε· καὶ γὰρ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἡμέρως ἐξ ἀρχῆς ζῶσι καὶ ἐν γνωρίμοις ἴδρυνται τόποις, ὥστε καὶ αἱ διατάξεις αὐτῶν μνημονεύονται. καὶ ἐπαινοῦνται γε, δοκοῦντες ἀξίως χρήσασθαι τῇ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ, μερίσαντές τε εὖ καὶ ἐπιμεληθέντες· βασιλεῖα γὰρ ἀποδείξαντες τριχῇ τὸ πλῆθος διεῖλον, καὶ τοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας ἐκάλεσαν, τοὺς δὲ γεωργοὺς, τοὺς δὲ ἱερέας· καὶ τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπιμεληταίς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους τῶν περὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν τὰ<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, τοὺς δ' ὅσα ἐν εἰρήνῃ, γῆν τε καὶ τέχνας ἐργαζομένους,<sup>3</sup> ἀφ' ὧν περ καὶ αἱ πρόσοδοι συνήγουντο τῷ βασιλεῖ. οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἥσκουν καὶ ἀστρονομίαν· ὁμιληταί τε τῶν βασιλέων ἦσαν. ἡ δὲ χώρα τὴν μὲν πρώτην διαίρεσιν εἰς νομοὺς ἔσχε, δέκα μὲν ἡ Θηβαῖς, δέκα δ' ἡ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, ἐκκαίδεκα δ' ἡ μεταξὺ (ὡς δέ τινες, τοσοῦτοι ἦσαν οἱ σύμπαντες νομοί, ὅσαι αἱ ἐν τῷ λαβυρίνθῳ αὐλαί·<sup>4</sup> αὗται δ' ἐλάτους τῶν τριάκοντα<sup>5</sup>). πάλιν δ' οἱ νομοὶ τομὰς ἄλλας ἔσχον, εἰς γὰρ τοπαρχίας οἱ πλείστοι

<sup>1</sup> τοῦ Νείλου, after ἐκβολῶν, Groskurd and later editors eject.

<sup>2</sup> τὰ, added from the Epitome.

<sup>3</sup> ἐργαζομένους, Kramer, for ἐργαζομένων.

<sup>4</sup> αὐλαί F, αὗται other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> τριάκοντα, Meineke, following conj. of Groskurd, amends to τριάκοντα ἕξ.

indeed the Aethiopians lead for the most part a nomadic and resourceless life, on account of the barrenness of the country and of the unseasonableness of its climate and of its remoteness from us, whereas with the Aegyptians the contrary is the case in all these respects; for from the outset they have led a civic and cultivated life and have been settled in well-known regions, so that their organisations are a matter of comment. And they are commended in that they are thought to have used worthily the good fortune of their country, having divided it well and having taken good care of it; for when they had appointed a king they divided the people into three classes, and they called one class soldiers, another farmers, and another priests; and the last class had the care of things sacred and the other two of things relating to man; and some had charge of the affairs of war, and others of all the affairs of peace, both tilling soil and following trades, from which sources the revenues were gathered for the king. The priests devoted themselves both to philosophy and to astronomy; and they were companions of the king. The country was first divided into Nomes,<sup>1</sup> the Thebaïs containing ten, the country in the Delta ten, and the country between them sixteen (according to some, the number of the Nomes all told was the same as that of the halls in the Labyrinth, but the number of these is less than thirty<sup>2</sup>); and again the Nomes were divided into other sections, for most of them were divided into

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word (*Noμολ*) here means Districts or Provinces. Pliny (5. 9) refers to them as *praefecturae oppidorum*.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke and others unnecessarily amend the text to read "thirty-six" (see critical note).

διήρηντο, καὶ αὐταὶ δ' εἰς ἄλλας τομάς· ἐλάχισται δ' αἱ ἄρουραι μερίδες. ἐδέησε δὲ τῆς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς καὶ κατὰ λεπτὸν διαιρέσεως διὰ τὰς συνεχεῖς τῶν ὄρων συγχύσεις, ἃς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπεργάζεται κατὰ τὰς αὐξήσεις, ἀφαιρῶν καὶ προστιθεὶς καὶ ἐναλλάττων τὰ σχήματα καὶ τὰλλα σημεῖα ἀποκρύπτων, οἷς διακρίνεται τό τε ἀλλότριον καὶ τὸ ἴδιον· ἀνάγκη δὲ ἀναμετρεῖσθαι πάλιν καὶ πάλιν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν συστήναί φασιν, ὥς τὴν λογιστικὴν καὶ ἀριθμητικὴν παρὰ Φοινίκων διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας. τριχῇ δὲ διήρηντο, ὥσπερ τὸ σύμπαν, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῷ νομῷ πλῆθος, εἰς τρία ἴσα μερισθείσης τῆς χώρας. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πραγματεία διαφέρει τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ νικᾷν τὴν φύσιν. φύσει γὰρ πλείονα φέρει καρπὸν καὶ ποτισθεῖσα μᾶλλον, φύσει καὶ

C 788 ἡ μείζων ἀνάβασις τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλείω ποτίζει γῆν, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπιμέλεια πολλάκις καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐξίσχυσεν ἐπιλιπούσης, ὥστε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐλάχιστους ἀναβάσεις τοσαύτην ποτισθῆναι γῆν, ὅσην ἐν ταῖς μείζουσι, διὰ τε τῶν διωρύγων καὶ τῶν παραχωμάτων· ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν πρὸ Πετρωνίου χρόνων ἡ μεγίστη μὲν ἦν φορὰ καὶ ἀνάβασις, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα πῆχεις ἀνέβαινεν ὁ Νεῖλος, ἡνίκα δ' ἐπ' ὀκτώ, συνέβαινε λιμός· ἐπ' ἐκείνου δὲ ἄρξαντος τῆς χώρας καὶ δώδεκα μόνον

<sup>1</sup> By "arourae" Strabo refers to the Aegyptian land-measure, which was 100 Aegyptian cubits square (Herodotus 2. 168), i.e. about seven-elevenths of our acre. Each soldier was

toparchies, and these also into other sections; and the smallest portions were the *arourae*.<sup>1</sup> There was need of this accurate and minute division on account of the continuous confusion of the boundaries caused by the Nile at the time of its increases, since the Nile takes away and adds soil, and changes conformations of lands, and in general hides from view the signs by which one's own land is distinguished from that of another. Of necessity, therefore, the lands must be re-measured again and again. And here it was, they say, that the science of geometry<sup>2</sup> originated, just as accounting and arithmetic originated with the Phoenicians, because of their commerce.<sup>3</sup> Like the people as a whole, the people in each Nome were also divided into three parts, since the land had been divided into three equal parts. The activity of the people in connection with the river goes so far as to conquer nature through diligence. For by nature the land produces more fruit than do other lands, and still more when watered; and by nature a greater rise of the river waters more land; but diligence has oftentimes, even when nature has failed, availed to bring about the watering of as much land even at the time of the smaller rises of the river as at the greater rises, that is, through the means of canals and embankments. At any rate, in the times before Petronius<sup>4</sup> the crop was the largest and the rise the highest when the Nile would rise to fourteen cubits, and when it would rise to only eight a famine would ensue; but in the time of his reign over the

granted the free use of twelve *arourae* of land without taxation (Herodotus 2. 168).

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "land-measuring."

<sup>2</sup> See 16. 2. 24.

<sup>3</sup> C. Petronius (see 17. 1. 54).

πληρώσαντος πήχεις τοῦ Νείλου μέτρου,<sup>1</sup> μεγίστη ἦν ἡ φορά, καὶ ὁκτώ ποτε μόνον πληρώσαντος, λιμοῦ οὐδεὶς ἦσθετο. τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ διάταξις, τὰ δ' ἐξῆς λέγωμεν νυνί.

4. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν τερμόνων ρεῖ ἐπ' εὐθείας ὁ Νεῖλος πρὸς ἄρκτους, ἕως τοῦ καλουμένου χωρίου Δέλτα· εἴτ' ἐπὶ κορυφὴν σχιζόμενος ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ὥς ἂν τριγώνου κορυφὴν ἀποτελεῖ τὸν τύπον τοῦτον, πλευρὰς δὲ τοῦ τριγώνου τὰ σχιζόμενα ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ρεῖθρα καθήκοντα μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης, τὸ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς κατὰ Πηλούσιον, τὸ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς κατὰ Κάνωβον καὶ τὸ πλησίον Ἡράκλειον προσαγορευόμενον, βάσιν δὲ τὴν παραλίαν τὴν μεταξὺ τοῦ Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου. γέγονε δὴ<sup>2</sup> νῆσος ἐκ τε τῆς θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ρευμάτων ἀμφοῖν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ καλεῖται Δέλτα διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ σχήματος· τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ χωρίον ὁμωνύμως κέκληται διὰ τὸ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ λεχθέντος σχήματος, καὶ ἡ κώμη δὲ ἡ ἐπ' αὐτῷ καλεῖται Δέλτα. δύο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῦ Νείλου στόματα, ὧν τὸ μὲν Πηλουσιακὸν καλεῖται, τὸ δὲ Κανωβικὸν καὶ Ἡρακλειωτικόν, μεταξὺ δὲ τούτων ἄλλαι πέντε εἰσὶν ἐκβολαὶ αἱ γε ἀξιόλογοι, λεπτότεραι δὲ πλείους· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων μερῶν ἀπορρῶγες πολλαὶ καθ' ὅλην μερισθεῖσαι τὴν νῆσον πολλὰ καὶ ρεῖθρα καὶ νήσους ἐποίησαν, ὥσθ' ὅλην γενέσθαι πλωτὴν διωρύγων ἐπὶ διώρυξι τμηθεῖσάν, αἱ κατὰ ῥαστώνην πλέονται τοσαύτην,

<sup>1</sup> Νείλου μέτρον γ' ; Νειλομετρίον, Corais ; πήχεων . . . μέτρον conj. Villebrun.

<sup>2</sup> δη, Groskurd, for δ' ἡ.

country, and when the Nilometer registered only twelve cubits, the crop was the largest, and once, when it registered only eight cubits, no one felt hunger. Such is the organisation of Aegypt; but let me now describe the things that come next in order.

4. The Nile flows from the Aethiopian boundaries towards the north in a straight line to the district called "Delta," and then, being "split at the head," as Plato says,<sup>1</sup> the Nile makes this place as it were the vertex of a triangle, the sides of the triangle being formed by the streams that split in either direction and extend to the sea—the one on the right to the sea at Pelusium and the other on the left to the sea at Canobus and the neighbouring Heracleium, as it is called,—and the base by the coast-line between Pelusium and the Heracleium. An island, therefore, has been formed by the sea and the two streams of the river; and it is called Delta on account of the similarity of its shape; and the district at the vertex has been given the same name because it is the beginning of the above-mentioned figure; and the village there is also called Delta. Now these are two mouths of the Nile, of which one is called Pelusiatic and the other Canobic or Heracleiatic; but between these there are five other outlets, those at least that are worth mentioning, and several that are smaller; for, beginning with the first parts of the Delta, many branches of the river have been split off throughout the whole island and have formed many streams and islands, so that the whole Delta has become navigable—canals on canals having been cut, which are

<sup>1</sup> *Timaeus* 21 E.



ὥστε καὶ ὀστράκινα ἐνίοις εἶναι πορθμεῖα. τὴν μὲν οὖν περίμετρον ὅσον τρισχιλίων σταδίων ἐστὶν ἡ σύμπασα νῆσος· καλοῦσι<sup>1</sup> δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν κάτω χώραν σὺν ταῖς ἀπαντικρὺ ποταμίαις τοῦ Δέλτα· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀναβάσεσι τοῦ Νείλου καλύπτεται πᾶσα καὶ πελαγίζει πλὴν τῶν οἰκήσεων· αὐταὶ δ' ἐπὶ λόφων αὐτοφυῶν ἢ χωμάτων ἴδρυνται, πόλεις τε ἀξιόλογοι καὶ κῶμαι, νησίζουσαι κατὰ τὴν πόρρωθεν ὄψιν. πλείους δ' ἡ<sup>2</sup> τετταράκοντα ἡμέρας τοῦ θέρους διαμεῖναι τὸ ὕδωρ ἔπειθ' ὑπόβασιν λαμβάνει κατ' ὀλίγον, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἔσχεν· ἐν ἐξήκοντα δὲ ἡμέραις τελέως γυμνοῦται καὶ ἀναψύχεται τὸ πεδῖον· ὅσῳ δὲ θᾶπτον ἢ ἀνάψυξις, τοσῶδε θᾶπτον ὁ ἄροτος καὶ ὁ σπόρος· θᾶπτον δέ, παρ' οἷς τὰ μείζω θάλη. τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ ἐπάνω τοῦ Δέλτα ποτίζεται, πλὴν ὅτι ἐπ' εὐθείας ὅσον τετρακισχιλίους σταδίους δι' ἐνὸς ρείθρου τοῦ ποταμοῦ φερομένου, πλὴν εἴ ποῦ<sup>3</sup> τις ἐντρέχει νῆσος, ὣν ἀξιολογωτάτη ἡ τὸν Ἡρακλειωτικὸν νομὸν περιέχουσα, ἣ εἴ ποῦ τις ἐκτροπὴ διώρυγι ἐπὶ πλέον εἰς λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ χώραν, ἣν ποτίζειν δύναται, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῆς τὸν Ἀρσινοῦττην<sup>4</sup> νομὸν ποτιζούσης<sup>5</sup> καὶ τὴν Μοίριδος λίμνην καὶ τῶν εἰς τὴν Μαρεῶτιν<sup>6</sup> ἀναχεομένων. συλλήβδην δ' εἰπεῖν, ἡ ποταμία μόνον ἐστὶν Αἴγυπτος ἢ ἑκατέρωθεν ἐσχάτη τοῦ Νείλου, σπάνιον εἴ που

<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσι, Brequigny, for κολποῦσι; κατοικοῦσι, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> δ' ἡ ἡμερα, ἡ Ε, δέ other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> εἴ ποῦ EF; εἰ μή ποῦ other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀρσινοῦττην D; Ἀρσινοήτην other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> ποτιζούσης Letronne, for ποιούσης.

navigated with such ease that some people even use earthenware ferry-boats.<sup>1</sup> Now the island as a whole is as much as three thousand stadia in perimeter; and they also call it, together with the opposite river-lands of the Delta, Lower Egypt;<sup>2</sup> but at the rising of the Nile the whole country is under water and becomes a lake, except the settlements; and these are situated on natural hills or on artificial mounds, and contain cities of considerable size and villages, which, when viewed from afar, resemble islands. The water stays more than forty days in summer and then goes down gradually just as it rose; and in sixty days the plain is completely bared and begins to dry out; and the sooner the drying takes place, the sooner the ploughing and the sowing; and the drying takes place sooner in those parts where the heat is greater. The parts above the Delta are also watered in the same way, except that the river flows in a straight course about four thousand stadia through only one channel, except where some island intervenes, of which the most noteworthy is that which comprises the Heracleiote Nome, or except where the river is diverted to a greater extent than usual by a canal into a large lake or a territory which it can water, as, for instance, in the case of the canal which waters the Arsinoïte Nome and Lake Moeris<sup>3</sup> and of those which spread over Lake Mareotis.<sup>4</sup> In short, Aegypt consists of only the river-land, I mean the last stretch of river-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Juvenal 15. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 1. 2. 23 and 16. 2. 35.

<sup>3</sup> See Herodotus 2. 149 and Breasted's *A History of Egypt*, pp. 191-94.

<sup>4</sup> Now Lake Mariout.

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\* *Μαρεώτιν* E, *Μαραιώτιν* other MSS.

τριακοσίων σταδίων ἐπέχουσα συνεχῶς πλάτος τὸ οἰκήσιμον, ἄρξαμένη ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων<sup>1</sup> τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Δέλτα. ἔοικεν οὖν κειρία<sup>2</sup> ψυχομένη<sup>3</sup> ἐπὶ μῆκος, ὑπεξαίρουμένων τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκτροπῶν. ποιεῖ δὲ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο τῆς ποταμίας, ἣς λέγω, καὶ τῆς χώρας τὰ ὄρη τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Συήνην τόπων καταγόμενα μέχρι τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου πελάγους· ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ ταῦτα παρατείνει καὶ διέστηκεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς συνάγεται τε καὶ διαχεῖται καὶ διασχηματίζει τὴν χώραν διαφόρως τὴν οἰκήσιμον. ἡ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ συχνὸν αἰοικητός ἐστιν.

5. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι στοχασμῷ τὸ πλέον, οἱ δ' ὕστερον αὐτόπται γεννηθέντες ἤσθοντο ὑπὸ ὄμβρων θερινῶν πληρούμενον τὸν Νεῖλον, τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τῆς ἄνω κλυζομένης, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ὄρεσι, παυσαμένων δὲ τῶν ὄμβρων πανομένην κατ' ὀλίγον τὴν πλημμυρίδα. τοῦτο δ' ὑπῆρξε μάλιστα δῆλον τοῖς πλέουσι τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον μέχρι τῆς κινναμομοφόρου καὶ τοῖς ἐκπεμπομένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι χρεῖαι παρώξυνον ἐκείσε ἄνδρας προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλέας τοὺς Πτολεμαῖκούς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἐφρόντισαν τῶν τοιούτων, διαφερόντως δ' ὁ Φιλάδελφος ἐπικλη-

<sup>1</sup> ὄρων, Corais, for ὁρῶν.

<sup>2</sup> κηρία OEFs (C adding υ above η), κειρία D<sup>h</sup> *κινουαα* (I adding the ει above η), κυρία Ald.

<sup>3</sup> ψυχομένη, Corais (who conj. *τεταμένη*, however), for ψυχομένη; ἀναπτυσσομένη or ἀνεπτυγμένη conj. Krainer.

<sup>1</sup> But the text seems corrupt (see critical note). Strabo may have written, "Accordingly, it resembles length-wise an  
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land on either side of the Nile, which, beginning at the boundaries of Aethiopia and extending to the vertex of the Delta, scarcely anywhere occupies a continuous habitable space as broad as three hundred stadia. Accordingly, when it is dried, it resembles lengthwise a girdle-band,<sup>1</sup> the greater diversions of the river being excepted. This shape of the river-land of which I am speaking, as also of the country, is caused by the mountains on either side, which extend from the region of Syenê down to the Aegyptian Sea; for in proportion as these mountains lie near together or at a distance from one another, in that proportion the river is contracted or widened, and gives to the lands that are habitable their different shapes. But the country beyond the mountains is for the most part uninhabited.<sup>2</sup>

5. Now the country is mostly on conjecture, but the men of later times, having become eye-witnesses, perceived that the Nile was filled by summer rains, when Upper Aethiopia was flooded, and particularly in the region of its farthest mountains, and that when the rains ceased the inundation gradually ceased. This fact was particularly clear to those who navigated the Arabian Gulf as far as the Cinnamon-bearing country, and to those who were sent out to hunt elephants<sup>3</sup> or upon any other business which may have prompted the Ptolemaic kings of Aegypt to despatch men thither. For these kings were concerned with things of this kind; and especially the Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, since he was of an

unwound girdle-band," or else, "as if it were a hand outstretched to full length" and hand, and thus referring to the Delta as well as to the stretch of river-land from Aethiopia to the vertex.

<sup>1</sup> See 1. 2. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See 16. 4. 7.

θείς, φιλιστορῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ  
 σώματος διαγωγὰς αἰεί τινας καὶ τέρψεις ζητῶν  
 καινοτέρας. οἱ πάλαι δὲ βασιλεῖς οὐ πάνυ  
 C 790 ἐφρόντισαν τῶν τοιούτων, καίπερ οἰκεῖοι σοφίας  
 γεγονότες καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς, μεθ' ὧν ἦν  
 αὐτοῖς ὁ πλείων βίος· ὥστε καὶ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διότι Σέσωστρις τὴν Λίθιοπίαν  
 ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν μέχρι τῆς κινναμωμοφόρου, καὶ  
 ὑπομνήματα τῆς στρατείας αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
 δείκνυται, στήλαι καὶ ἐπιγραφαί. Καμβύσης τε  
 τὴν Λίγυπτον κατασχὼν προῆλθε καὶ μέχρι τῆς  
 Μερόης μετὰ τῶν Λίγυπτίων· καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦνομα  
 τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῇ πόλει τοῦτο παρ' ἐκείνου  
 τεθῆναί φασιν, ἐκεῖ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀποθανούσης  
 αὐτῇ Μερόης (οἱ δὲ γυναῖκά φασι)· τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν  
 οὖν ἐχαρίσατο αὐτῇ τιμῶν τὴν ἄνθρωπον. θαν-  
 μαστὸν οὖν, πῶς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἀφορμῶν οὐ  
 τελέως ἐναργῆς ἦν ἡ περὶ τῶν ὁμβρων ἱστορία  
 τοῖς τότε, καὶ ταῦτα τῶν ἱερέων φιλοπραγμονέσ-  
 τερον ἀναφερόντων εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα καὶ  
 ἀποτιθεμένων, ὅσα μάθησιν περιττὴν ἐπιφαίνει.<sup>1</sup>  
 εἰ γὰρ ἄρα, τοῦτ' ἐχρῆν ζητεῖν, ὅπερ καὶ νῦν ἔτι  
 ζητεῖται, τί δὴ ποτε θέρους, χειμῶνος δὲ οὐ, καὶ  
 ἐν τοῖς νοτιωτάτοις, ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαίδι καὶ τῇ περὶ  
 Συήνῃ οὐ συμπίπτουσιν ὁμβροί· τὸ δ' ὅτι ἐξ  
 ὁμβρων αἱ ἀναβάσεις μὴ ζητεῖν, μηδὲ τοιούτων  
 δεῖσθαι μαρτύρων, οἷους Ποσειδώνιος εἴρηκε.  
 φησὶ γὰρ Καλλισθένης λέγειν τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁμβρων

<sup>1</sup> ὑποφαίνει μορ, ἐπιτείνει B, marg. F, D first hand but changed to ἐπιφαίνει.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus (1. 33) says his mother.

<sup>2</sup> So 15. 1. 19.

inquiring disposition, and on account of the infirmity of his body was always searching for novel pastimes and enjoyments. But the kings of old were not at all concerned with such things, although they proved themselves congenial to learning, both they and the priests, with whom they spent the greater part of their lives; and therefore we may well be surprised, not only on this account, but also by the fact that Sesostris traversed the whole of Aethiopia as far as the Cinnamon-bearing country, and that memorials of his expedition, pillars and inscriptions, are to be seen even to this day. Further, when Cambyzes took possession of Aegypt, he advanced with the Aegyptians even as far as Meroë; and indeed this name was given by him to both the island and the city, it is said, because his sister Meroë—some say his wife—<sup>1</sup> died there. The name, at any rate, he bestowed upon the place in honour of the woman. It is surprising, therefore, that the men of that time, having such knowledge to begin with, did not possess a perfectly clear knowledge of the rains, especially since the priests rather meticulously record in their sacred books, and thus store away, all facts that reveal any curious information; for they should have investigated, if they made any investigations at all, the question, which even to this day is still being investigated, I mean why in the world rains fall in summer but not in winter, and in the southernmost parts but not in Thebais and the country round Syenê;<sup>2</sup> but the fact that the rising of the river results from rains should not have been investigated, nor yet should this matter have needed such witnesses as Poseidonius mentions; for instance, he says that it was Callisthenes who states that the summer rains

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αἰτίαν τῶν θερινῶν, παρὰ Ἀριστοτέλους λαβόντα, ἐκείνον δὲ παρὰ Θρασυάλκου τοῦ Θασίου (τῶν ἀρχαίων δὲ φυσικῶν εἰς οὗτος), ἐκείνον δὲ παρ' ἄλλου,<sup>1</sup> τὸν δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρου διυπετέα φάσκοντος τὸν Νεῖλον·

ἂν δ' εἰς Αἰγύπτιοι διυπετέος ποταμοῖο.

Ἄλλ' ἐὼ ταῦτα, πολλῶν εἰρηκώτων, ὧν ἀρκέσει δύο μνηῦσαι τοὺς ποιήσαντας καθ' ἡμῖς τὸ περὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου βιβλίον, Εὐδωρὺν τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνα τὸν ἐκ τῶν περιπάτων· πλὴν γὰρ τῆς τάξεως τὰ γε ἄλλα καὶ τῇ φράσει καὶ τῇ ἐπιχειρήσει ταυτὰ<sup>2</sup> ἐστὶ κείμενα παρ' ἀμφοτέροις. ἐγὼ γοῦν ἰσχυρόμενος ἀντιγράφω εἰς τὴν ἀντιβιβλὴν ἐκ θατέρου θάτερον ἀντέβαλον· πότερος δ' ἦν ὁ τὰλλότρια ὑποβαλλόμενος, ἐν Ἀμμωνος εὖροι τις αὖν. Εὐδωρος δ' ἡτιάτο τὸν Ἀρίστωνα· ἡ μέντοι φράσις Ἀριστώνειος μᾶλλον ἐστίν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι τὸ οἰκούμενον αὐτὸ καὶ ποτιζόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου μόνον Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλουν, ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ Συήνην τόπων ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης· οἱ δ' ὕστερον μέχρι νῦν προσέλαβον ἐκ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἑω μερῶν τὰ<sup>3</sup> μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου  
C 791 σχεδὸν τι πάντα (οἱ δ' Αἰθίοπες οὐ πᾶν χρῶνται τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάττῃ), ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐσπερίων τὰ

<sup>1</sup> For ἄλλου C. Müller conj. παρὰ Θαλοῦ (citing l. l. 11).

<sup>2</sup> ταυτά, Corais, for ταῦτα.

<sup>3</sup> τὰ, before μεταξὺ, Corais inserts.

i.e., apparently, "copies" of  
"o works.

are the cause of the risings, though Callisthenes took the assertion from Aristotle, and Aristotle from Thrasyalces the Thasian (one of the early physicists), and Thrasyalces from someone else, and he from Homer, who calls the Nile "heaven-fed": "And back again to the land of Aegyptus, heaven-fed river."

But I dismiss this subject, since it has been discussed by many writers, of whom it will suffice to report only the two who in my time have written the book about the Nile, I mean Eudorus and Ariston the Peripatetic philosopher; for except in the matter of arrangement everything found in the two writers is the same as regards both style and treatment. I, at any rate, being in want of copies<sup>1</sup> with which to make a comparison, compared the one work with the other;<sup>2</sup> but which of the two men it was who appropriated to himself the other's work might be discovered at Ammon's temple! Eudorus accused Ariston; the style, however, is more like that of Ariston.

Now the early writers gave the name Aegypt to only the part of the country that was inhabited and watered by the Nile, beginning at the region of Syenê and extending to the sea; but the later writers down to the present time have added on the eastern side approximately all the parts between the Arabian Gulf and the Nile (the Aethiopians do not use the Red Sea at all<sup>3</sup>), and on the western side the parts

<sup>2</sup> In the Alexandrian library, apparently.

<sup>3</sup> The other translators interpret *παρὰ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν* as "beyond the Aethiopia," or "to such an extent," or the like. But the country between the Nile and Arabian Gulf is Arabia" (17.1. 21), and even Aegyptian Heliupolis (17. 1. 30) and Thebes (17. 1. 46) are in "Arabia."



μέχρι τῶν Ἀνάσεων καὶ ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος μέχρι Καταβαθμοῦ καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίων ἐπικρατείας. οἳ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου βασιλεῖς ἴσχυσαν τοσοῦτον, ὥστε<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν Κυρηναίαν αὐτὴν κατέσχον καὶ διενείμαντο πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν Κύπρον. Ῥωμαῖοί τε οἱ διαδεξάμενοι τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπαρχίαν κρίναντες τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅροις διεφύλαξαν. Ἀνάσεις δ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσι τὰς οἰκουμένας χώρας περιεχομένας κύκλῳ μεγάλαις ἐρημίαις, ὡς ἂν νήσους πελαγίας. πολὺ δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην, τρεῖς δ' εἰσὶν αἱ πρόσχωροι τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ὑπ'<sup>2</sup> αὐτῇ τεταγμένοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ὅλου καὶ ἀνωτίτῳ περὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταῦτα λέγομεν, τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ καὶ<sup>3</sup> τὰς ἀρετὰς αὐτῆς νῦν διέξιμεν.

6. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ ἔργου τούτου καὶ τὸ κυριώτατον ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρειά ἐστι καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτήν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀρκτέον. ἔστι τοίνυν ἡ ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου παραλία πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν πλέουσι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος χιλίων πον καὶ τριακοσίων σταδίων, ὃ δὲ καὶ βάσιν τοῦ Δέλτα ἔφαμεν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπὶ Φάρον τὴν νῆσον ἄλλοι στάδιοι πεντήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν. ἡ δὲ Φάρος νησίον ἐστὶ παράμηνες, προσεχέστατον τῇ ἡπείρῳ, λιμένα πρὸς αὐτὴν ποιοῦν ἀμφίστομον.

<sup>1</sup> ὥστε, Letronne and Groskurd, for οἳ γε.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπ' *m* for ἐπ'; so Corais and Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> The text of F from καὶ to Πτολεμαῖος (17. 1. 11) is lost.

<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy I (Soter), reigned 323–285 B.C.

extending as far as the oases, and on the sea-coast the parts extending from the Canobic mouth to Catabathmus and the domain of the Cyrenaeans. For the kings after Ptolemy<sup>1</sup> became so powerful that they took possession of Cyrenaea itself and even united Cypros with Aegypt. The Romans, who succeeded the Ptolemies, separated their three dominions and have kept Aegypt within its former limits.<sup>2</sup> The Aegyptians call "oases"<sup>3</sup> the inhabited districts which are surrounded by large deserts, like islands in the open sea. There is many an oasis in Libya, and three of them lie close to Aegypt and are classed as subject to it. This, then, is my general, or summary, account of Aegypt, and I shall now discuss the separate parts and the excellent attributes of the country.

6. Since Alexandria<sup>4</sup> and its neighbourhood constitute the largest and most important part of this subject, I shall begin with them. The sea-coast, then, from Pelusium, as one sails towards the west, as far as the Canobic mouth, is about one thousand three hundred stadia—the "base" of the Delta, as I have called it;<sup>5</sup> and thence to the island Pharos, one hundred and fifty stadia more. Pharos is an oblong isle, is very close to the mainland, and forms with it a harbour with two mouths; for

<sup>2</sup> The Romans made Cyrenaea an "allied state" (*civitas foederata*) in 96 B.C., a Roman province in 88 B.C., and later (see 17. 3. 25) united it with Crete. Cypros was annexed to the province of Cilicia in 47 B.C., presented by Antony to Cleopatra in 32 B.C., made an imperial province in 27 B.C., and a se

<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>4</sup> See "

<sup>5</sup> 17. 1. 4.

· volume.

ἡϊὼν γάρ ἐστι κολπώδης, ἄκρας εἰς τὸ πέλαγος  
 . . . . . τούτων δὲ μεταξύ ἡ νῆσος  
 . . . . . τὸν κόλπον, παραβέβληται γὰρ  
 αὐτῷ κατὰ μῆκος. τῶν δ' ἄκρων τῆς Φάρου τὸ  
 μὲν ἐξῶν μᾶλλον ἐστι προσεχές τῇ ἡπείρῳ καὶ  
 τῇ κατ' αὐτὴν ἄκρᾳ (καλεῖται δ' ἄκρα Λοχιάς),  
 καὶ ποιεῖ τὸν λιμένα ἁρτίστομον.<sup>1</sup> πρὸς δὲ τῇ  
 στενότητι τοῦ μεταξύ πόρου καὶ πέτραι εἰσὶν, αἱ  
 μὲν ὕφαλοι, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξέχουσαι, τραχύνουσαι  
 πᾶσαν ὥραν τὸ προσπίπτον ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους  
 κλυδώνιον. ἐστι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς νησίδος  
 ἄκρον πέτρα περίκλυστος, ἔχουσα πύργον  
 θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον λευκοῦ λίθου πο-  
 λυόροφον, ὁμώνυμον τῇ νήσῳ. τοῦτον δ' ἀνέθηκε  
 Σώστρατος Κνίδιος, φίλος τῶν βασιλέων, τῆς  
 τῶν πλωιζομένων σωτηρίας χάριν, ὥς φησιν ἡ  
 ἐπιγραφή.<sup>2</sup> ἀλιμένου γὰρ οὐσης καὶ ταπεινῆς  
 τῆς ἐκατέρωθεν παραλίας, ἐχούσης δὲ καὶ χοιρά-  
 δας καὶ βράχη τινά, ἔδει σημείου τινὸς ὑψηλοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἀμφίστομον *w*, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> After ἐπιγραφή *U*, in the margin, adds: 'Επίγραμμα. Σώστρατος Κνίδιος Δεξιφάνους θεοῖς σωτήρσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν πλωιζομένων. The same words are found in *Iliu*, and also, with 'Επίγραμμα omitted, in *mozx*.

<sup>1</sup> This tower, one of the "Wonders of the World," cost 800 talents (Pliny 6. 18). According to Eusebius (*Chron. ad Olymp.* 124. 1), it was built in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, but, according to Suidas, at the beginning of the reign of Pyrrhus (299 B.C.), i.e. in the time of Ptolemy Soter.

or L.C.L. edition,  
 from the sea at  
 Byz., s.v. Φάρος),

Lucian *ad Icaromenippum*, § 12, says that it was visible 300 miles away! See

the shore of the mainland forms a bay, since it thrusts two promontories into the open sea, and between these is situated the island, which closes the bay, for it lies lengthwise parallel to the shore. Of the extremities of Pharos, the eastern one lies closer to the mainland and to the promontory opposite it (the promontory called Lochias), and thus makes the harbour narrow at the mouth; and in addition to the narrowness of the intervening passage there are also rocks, some under the water, and others projecting out of it, which at all hours roughen the waves that strike them from the open sea. And likewise the extremity of the isle is a rock, which is washed all round by the sea and has upon it a tower that is admirably constructed of white marble with many stories and bears the same name as the island.<sup>1</sup> This was an offering made by Sostratus of Cnidus, a friend of the kings, for the safety of mariners, as the inscription says:<sup>2</sup> for since the coast was harbourless and low on either side, and also had reefs and shallows, those who were sailing from the open sea thither needed some lofty and

A. M. de Zogheb, *Études sur L'Ancienne Alexandrie*, Paris, 1910; and Thiersch's restoration of the tower in Rostovtzeff's *A History of the Ancient World*, Vol. I, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Some of which is pre-son of Soter and Beronicé (see the Corais-Letronne edition, which cites Spannheim, and Visconti, *Icon* the Dioscuri (Cast as "guardians of the sea" and "the saviours of sailors" (1. 3. 2 and 5. 3. 5).

C 792 καὶ λαμπροῦ τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους προσπλέουσιν, ὥστ' εὐστοχεῖν τῆς εἰσβολῆς τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ τὸ ἐσπέριον δὲ στόμα οὐκ εὐεῖσβολόν ἐστιν, οὐ μὴν τοσαύτης γε δεῖται προνοίας. ποιεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἄλλον λιμένα τὸν τοῦ Εὐνόστου καλούμενον· πρόκειται δ' οὗτος τοῦ ὀρυκτοῦ καὶ κλειστοῦ λιμένος· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ λεχθέντος πύργου τῆς Φάρου τὸν εἰσπλουν ἔχων ὁ μέγας ἐστὶ λιμὴν· οὗτοι δὲ συνεχεῖς ἐν βάθει ἐκείνῳ, τῷ ἐπτασταδίῳ καλουμένῳ χώματι διειργόμενοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, παράκεινται. τὸ δὲ χῶμά ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡπείρου γέφυρα ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον κατὰ τὸ ἐσπέριον αὐτῆς μέρος ἐκτεταμένη, δύο διάπλους ἀπολείπουσα μόνον εἰς τὸν Εὐνόστου λιμένα, καὶ αὐτοὺς γεγεφυρωμένους· ἦν δ' οὐ γέφυρα μόνον ἐπὶ τὴν νῆσον τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑδραγωγίον, ὅτε γε ῥέκεῖτο· νῦν δ' ἡρήμωσεν αὐτὴν ὁ θεὸς Καῖσαρ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀλεξανδρέας πολέμῳ, τεταγμένην μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων· ὀλίγοι δ' οἰκοῦσι πρὸς τῷ πύργῳ ναυτικοὶ ἄνδρες. ὁ γοῦν μέγας λιμὴν πρὸς τῷ κεκλεισθαι καλῶς τῷ τε χώματι καὶ τῇ φύσει, ἀγχιβαθὴς τέ ἐστιν, ὥστε τὴν μεγίστην ναῦν ἐπὶ κλίμακος ὀρμεῖν, καὶ εἰς πλείους σχίζεται λιμένας. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρότεροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς,

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "Harbour of the happy return." This harbour might have been so named after Eunostus, king of Soli in Cyprus and son-in-law of Ptolemy Soter (C. Wachsmuth, *Göttinger Festrede*, 1876, 4), the idea being inspired, perhaps, by the fact that Eunostus was so good a harbour as compared with the eastern.

<sup>2</sup> This harbour (called "Oibotus," *i.e.* "Chest" or "Box"), which was fortified, was connected with Lake Mareotis by a canal. Its shape and size are to-day problematical, for it

conspicuous sign to enable them to direct their course aright to the entrance of the harbour. And the western mouth is also not easy to enter, although it does not require so much caution as the other. And it likewise forms a second harbour, that of Eunostus,<sup>1</sup> as it is called, which lies in front of the closed harbour which was dug by the hand of man.<sup>2</sup> For the harbour which affords the entrance on the side of the above-mentioned tower of Pharos is the Great Harbour, whereas these two lie continuous with that harbour in their innermost recess, being separated from it only by the embankment called the Heptastadium.<sup>3</sup> The embankment forms a bridge extending from the mainland to the western portion of the island, and leaves open only two passages into the harbour of Eunostus, which are bridged over. However, this work formed not only a bridge to the island but also an aqueduct, at least when Pharos was inhabited. But in these present times it has been laid waste by the deified Caesar<sup>4</sup> in his war against the Alexandrians, since it had sided with the kings. A few seamen, however, live near the tower. As for the Great Harbour, in addition to its being beautifully enclosed both by the embankment and by nature, it is not only so deep close to the shore that the largest ship can be moored at the steps, but also is cut up into several harbours. Now the earlier kings of the

has been filled up and its site lies within that of the present Heptastadium.

<sup>1</sup> So called from its being "Seven Stadia" in length. It has been so much enlarged by alluvial deposits and debris from the old city that it is now, generally speaking, a mile wide, and forms a large part of the site of the city of to-day.

<sup>4</sup> Julius Caesar.

ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἐπεισάκτων  
 δεόμενοι, διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς πλέον-  
 τας, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἕλληνας (πορθηταὶ γὰρ  
 ἦσαν καὶ ἐπιθυμηταὶ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας κατὰ σπάνιν  
 γῆς), ἐπέστησαν φυλακὴν τῷ τόπῳ τούτῳ, κελεύ-  
 σαντες ἀπείργειν τοὺς προσιόντας· κατοικίαν δ'  
 αὐτοῖς ἔδωσαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥακῶτιν,  
 ἣ νῦν μὲν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐστὶ μέρος τὸ  
 ὑπερκεείμενον τῶν νεωρίων, τότε δὲ κώμη ὑπῆρχε·  
 τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ τῆς κώμης βουκόλοις παρέδωκαν,  
 δυναμένοις καὶ αὐτοῖς κωλύειν τοὺς ἔξωθεν  
 ἐπιόντας. ἐπελθὼν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος, ἰδὼν τὴν  
 εὐκαιρίαν, ἔγνω τειχίζειν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι τὴν πόλιν·  
 τῆς δ' ὕστερον ἐπηκολουθηκυίας εὐδαιμονίας τῇ  
 πόλει μνημονεύουσί τι σημεῖον κατὰ τὴν ὑπο-  
 γραφὴν τοῦ κτίσματος συμβάν· τῶν γὰρ ἀρχιτεκ-  
 τόνων γῆ<sup>1</sup> λευκῇ διασημαινομένων τὴν τοῦ  
 περιβόλου γραμμὴν, ἐπιλιπούσης τῆς γῆς καὶ  
 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπιόντος, οἱ διοικηταὶ τῶν ἀλφίτων  
 μέρος τῶν παρεσκευασμένων τοῖς ἐργάταις  
 παρέσχον, δι' ὧν καὶ αἱ ὁδοὶ κατετμήθησαν εἰς  
 πλείους·<sup>2</sup> τοῦτ' οὖν οἰωνίσθαι λέγονται<sup>3</sup> πρὸς  
 ἀγαθοῦ γεγονός.<sup>4</sup>

7. Ἡ δ' εὐκαιρία πολύτροπος· ἀμφίκλυστόν  
 τε γάρ ἐστι τὸ χωρίον δυσὶ πελάγεσι, τῷ μὲν<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> γῆ, Groskurd, for τῇ.

<sup>2</sup> εἰς πλείους, Tozer suspects as being a gloss.

<sup>3</sup> λέγεται ποτ.

<sup>4</sup> γεγονότος Διί.

<sup>5</sup> τῷ μὲν . . . τῷ δὲ Ἑ, τὸ μὲν . . . τὸ δὲ other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "white earth."

<sup>2</sup> According to Plutarch (*Alexander* 26), birds of all kinds settled on the place like clouds and ate up all the barley-

Aegyptians, being content with what they had and not wanting foreign imports at all, and being prejudiced against all who sailed the seas, and particularly against the Greeks (for owing to scarcity of land of their own the Greeks were ravagers and coveters of that of others), set a guard over this region and ordered it to keep away any who should approach; and they gave them as a place of abode Rhacotis, as it is called, which is now that part of the city of the Alexandrians which lies above the ship-houses, but was at that time a village; and they gave over the parts round about the village to herdsmen, who likewise were able to prevent the approach of outsiders. But when Alexander visited the place and saw the advantages of the site, he resolved to fortify the city on the harbour. Writers record, as a sign of the good fortune that has since attended the city, an incident which occurred at the time of tracing the lines of the foundation: When the architects were marking the lines of the enclosure with chalk,<sup>1</sup> the supply of chalk gave out; and when the king arrived, his stewards furnished a part of the barley-meal which had been prepared for the workmen, and by means of this the streets also, to a larger number than before, were laid out. This occurrence, then, they are said to have interpreted as a good omen.<sup>2</sup>

7. The advantages of the city's site are various; for, first, the place is washed by two seas, on the

meal with which the area had been marked out, so that Alexander was greatly disturbed at the omen; but the seers assured him that the omen was good. The barley-meal betokened an abundance of food (Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 10. 7).



C 793 ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ λεγομένῳ, τῷ δ' ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας τῷ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαρείας, ἥ καὶ Μαρεώτις<sup>1</sup> λέγεται· πληροὶ δὲ ταύτην πολλαῖς διώρυξιν ὁ Νεῖλος, ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων, δι' ὧν τὰ εἰσκομιζόμενα πολλῷ πλείω τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐστίν, ὥσθ' ὁ λιμὴν ὁ λιμναῖος ὑπῆρχε πλουσιώτερος τοῦ θαλαττίου· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκκομιζόμενα ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας πλείω τῶν εἰσκομιζομένων ἐστί· γνοίῃ δ' ἂν τις ἔν τε τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ καὶ τῇ Δικαιαρχίᾳ γενόμενος, ὁρῶν τὰς ὁλκάδας ἔν τε τῷ κατάπλῳ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγωγαῖς, ὅσον βαρύτεραι τε καὶ κουφότεραι δεῦρο καὶ κείσε πλέοιεν. πρὸς δὲ τῷ πλούτῳ τῶν καταγομένων ἐκατέρωσε εἰς τε τὸν κατὰ θάλατταν λιμένα καὶ εἰς τὸν λιμναῖον, καὶ τὸ εὐάερον ἄξιον σημειώσεώς ἐστιν· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει διὰ τὸ ἀμφίκλυστον καὶ τὸ εὐκαιρον τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ Νείλου. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ἐπὶ λιμνῶν ἰδρυμέναι βαρεῖς καὶ πνιγώδεις ἔχουσι τοὺς ἀέρας ἐν τοῖς καύμασί τοῦ θέρους· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς χείλεσιν αἱ λίμναι τελματοῦνται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἡλίων ἀναθυμίασιν· βορβορώδους οὖν ἀναφερομένης τοσαύτης ἰκμάδος, νοσώδης ὁ ἀὴρ ἔλκεται καὶ λοιμικῶν κατάρχει παθῶν· ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ δὲ τοῦ θέρους ἀρχομένου πληρούμενος ὁ Νεῖλος πληροὶ καὶ τὴν λίμνην καὶ οὐδὲν ἑᾶ τελματώδες τὸ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιῆσον<sup>2</sup> μοχθηράν· τότε δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔτησίαι πνέουσιν ἐκ τῶν βορείων καὶ τοῦ τοσούτου πελάγους, ὥστε κάλλιστα τοῦ θέρους Ἀλεξανδρεῖς διάγουσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Μαρείας ; . . Μαρεώτις E, Μαρίας . . . Μαραιώτις other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ποιῆσον μοζ, ποιῆσαν other MSS.

north by the Aegyptian Sea, as it is called, and on the south by Lake Marcia, also called Mareotis. This is filled by many canals from the Nile, both from above and on the sides, and through these canals the imports are much larger than those from the sea, so that the harbour on the lake was in fact richer than that on the sea; and here the exports from Alexandria also are larger than the imports; and anyone might judge, if he were at either Alexandria or Dicaearchia<sup>1</sup> and saw the merchant vessels both at their arrival and at their departure, how much heavier or lighter they sailed thither or therefrom. And in addition to the great value of the things brought down from both directions, both into the harbour on the sea and into that on the lake, the salubrity of the air is also worthy of remark. And this likewise results from the fact that the land is washed by water on both sides and because of the timeliness of the Nile's risings; for the other cities that are situated on lakes have heavy and stifling air in the heats of summer, because the lakes then become marshy along their edges because of the evaporation caused by the sun's rays, and, accordingly, when so much filth-laden moisture rises, the air inhaled is noisome and starts pestilential diseases, whereas at Alexandria, at the beginning of summer, the Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and leaves no marshy matter to corrupt the rising vapours. At that time, also, the Etesian winds blow from the north and from a vast sea,<sup>2</sup> so that the Alexandrians pass their time most pleasantly in summer.

<sup>1</sup> Now Puteoli.

<sup>2</sup> The Aegyptian monsoons, here called the "Etesian" (i.e. "Annual") winds, blow from the north-west all summer.

8. Ἔστι δὲ χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς πόλεως· οὐ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μῆκος πλευρά ἐστι τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα, ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχοντα διάμετρον, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλάτος οἱ ἰσθμοί, ἐπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίων ἑκάτερος, σφειγόμενος τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ θαλάττης, τῇ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς λίμνης. ἅπαντα μὲν ὁδοῖς κατατέτμηται ἱππηλάτοις καὶ ἄρματηλάτοις, δυσὶ δὲ πλατυτάταις, ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ πλέθρον ἀναπεπταμέναις, αἱ δὲ δίχα καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰς τέμνουσιν ἀλλήλας. ἔχει δ' ἡ πόλις τεμένην τε κοινὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια, τέταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ παντὸς περιβόλου μέρος· τῶν γὰρ βασιλέων ἕκαστος ὥσπερ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀναθήμασι προσεφίλοκάλει τινὰ κόσμον, οὕτω καὶ οἴκησιν ἰδίᾳ

<sup>1</sup> According to Plutarch (5. 11), the shape was like that of a *Macedonian* chlamys, or military cloak; and the plan was designed by "Diochares" (probably an error for "Deinocrates"). Likewise, "the inhabited world is chlamys-shaped" (see Vol. I, p. 435 and footnote 3). See Tarbell, *Classical Philology*, I, p. 283, for a discussion of this passage as bearing on the shape of the chlamys.

<sup>2</sup> Strabo is thinking apparently of a line drawn from the centre of the skirt of the chlamys, which was circular, to the centre of the collar.

Philo (*In Flaccum* 973 A) the city was lions, which were and Epsilon.

including the Museum, the Isma and Delta, the Jewish quarter (Josephus, the sites of the three others are doubtful.

On the dimensions of the city, cp. Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* 2. 16. 4 (30 × 10 stadia); Philo, *In Flaccum* 757 (10 stadia in breadth); Stephanus Byzantinus, s.v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια (34 × 8,

8. The shape of the area of the city is like a chlamys;<sup>1</sup> the long sides of it are those that are washed by the two waters, having a diameter<sup>2</sup> of about thirty stadia, and the short sides are the isthmuses, each being seven or eight stadia wide and pinched in on one side by the sea and on the other by the lake.<sup>3</sup> The city as a whole is intersected by streets practicable for horse-riding and chariot-driving, and by two that are very broad, extending to more than a plethrum in breadth, which cut one another into two sections and at right angles.<sup>4</sup> And the city contains most beautiful public precincts and also the royal palaces, which constitute one-fourth or even one-third of the whole circuit of the city; for just as each of the kings, from love of splendour, was wont to add some adornment to the public monuments, so also he would invest himself at his own expense with a residence, in addition to those and 110 in circuit); Pliny 5. 10 (15 miles in circuit); and Diodorus Siculus 17. 59 (40 in breadth), who obviously means by "breadth" what others call "length," and seems to include suburban districts on east and west.

<sup>4</sup> The main longitudinal street ran straight through from the "Canobic Gate," or "Gate of the Sun," on the east to the "Gate of the Moon" on the west. Its site has been identified in part with that of the present Rosetta Street (see A. M. de Zogher, *Études sur L'Ancienne Alexandrie*, p. 11); but Dr. Botti (cited by Zogher) takes a different view. "The most important of the latitudinal streets was that of the Sema, which had on its right the tomb of Alexander the Great, and, on its left, very probably the Museum. Then it crossed the Canobic avenue, passed the Adrianum and Caesareum on the right, the temple of Isis-Plousia and the Emporium on the left, and ends on the quay of the great maritime port and the place of embarkation, near the two obelisks" (Noroutsos-Bey, quoted by Zogher, p. 15). See Map at end of volume.

περιεβάλλετο πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις, ὥστε νῦν  
τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ,

ἐξ ἐτέρων ἕτερον ἔστιν·

ἅπαντα μέντοι συναφῇ καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῷ  
λιμένι, καὶ ὅσα ἔξω αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ βασιλείων  
μέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Μουσεῖον, ἔχον περίπατον καὶ  
C 794 ἐξέδραν καὶ οἶκον μέγαν, ἐν ᾧ τὸ συσσίτιον τῶν  
μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν.  
ἔστι δὲ τῇ συνόδῳ ταύτῃ καὶ χρήματα κοινὰ καὶ  
ἱερεὺς ὁ ἐπὶ<sup>1</sup> τῷ Μουσείῳ, τεταγμένος τότε μὲν  
ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων, νῦν δ' ὑπὸ Καίσαρος. μέρος  
δὲ τῶν βασιλείων ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Σῆμα,<sup>2</sup>  
ὃ περίβολος ἦν, ἐν ᾧ αἱ τῶν βασιλέων ταφαὶ καὶ  
ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου· ἔφθη γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἀφελόμενος  
Περδίκκας ὁ τοῦ Λάγου Πτολεμαῖος, κατακομι-  
ζοντα ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἐκτρεπόμενον ταύτῃ  
κατὰ πλεονεξίαν καὶ ἐξιδιασμόν τῆς Αἰγύπτου·

<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ Διῒ.

<sup>2</sup> Σῆμα, Tzschucke, for σῶμα; so later editors.

<sup>1</sup> *Odyssey*, 17. 266 (concerning the palace of Odysseus).

<sup>2</sup> *Lochias* (see § 9 following).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vitruvius, De Architectura* (5. 12. 2) "Sed etiam in hac within three porticoes with seats, where philosophers, orators, and all others who take pleasure in disputation." Suidas (s.v. ἐξέδρα) makes the Exedra a building distinct from the Museum: "They live near the Museum and the Exedra."

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "Tomb." However, the MSS. (see critical note) read *Soma*, i.e. "Body." And so does the Greek version of the *Prologus* (see *Prologus*, Didot Edition, *Scriptura* 3. 4): "And Ptolemy made a tomb in the holy place called 'Body of Alexander,' and there he laid the body, or remains, of Alexander"; but

already built, so that now, to quote the words of the poet,<sup>1</sup> "there is building upon building." All, however, are connected with one another and the harbour, even those that lie outside<sup>2</sup> the harbour. The Museum is also a part of the royal palaces; it has a public walk, an Exedra with seats, and a large house,<sup>3</sup> in which is the common mess-hall of the men of learning who share the Museum. This group of men not only hold property in common, but also have a priest in charge of the Museum, who formerly was appointed by the kings, but is now appointed by Caesar. The Sema also,<sup>4</sup> as it is called, is a part of the royal palaces. This was the enclosure which contained the burial-places of the kings and that of Alexander; for Ptolemy,<sup>5</sup> the son of Lagos, forestalled Perdicas by taking the body away from him when he was bringing it down from Babylon and was turning aside towards Aegypt, moved by greed and a desire to make that country his own.<sup>6</sup> Further-

the Syrian version (*Alexander the Great*, trans. by E. A. W. Budge, p. 142) reads: "and they call that place 'The tomb of Alexander' unto this day." But more important is the statement of Zenobius (*Proverbia* III, 94): "Ptolemy (Philopator) built in the middle of the city a *mnema* (μνήμα οἰκοδόμησας), which is now called the *Sema*, and he laid there all . . . with his mother, and also Alexander

<sup>6</sup> The accounts vary. According to Diodorus Siculus (18. 26-28), Arrhidaeus spent two years making elaborate preparations for the removal of Alexander's body; and Ptolemy I went as far as Syria to meet him, and thence took the body to Aegypt for burial. Pausanias (1. 6. 3, 1. 7. 1) says that Ptolemy I buried it at Memphis and Ptolemy II transferred it to Alexandria. The Pseudo-Callisthenes (*l.c.*) says that the Macedonians were at first determined to take the body back to Macedonia, but later, upon consulting the

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπώλετο διαφθαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιω-  
τῶν, ἐπελθόντος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ κατακλεί-  
σαντος αὐτὸν ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ· ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν  
ἀπέθανεν ἐμπεριπαρεῖς<sup>1</sup> ταῖς σαρίσσαις, ἐπελ-  
θόντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> τῶν στρατιωτῶν, σὺν αὐτῷ  
δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς, Ἀριδαῖός τε καὶ τὰ παιδία  
τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ῥωξάνη ἀπῆραν εἰς  
Μακεδονίαν· τὸ δὲ σῶμα τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου κομίσας  
ὁ Πτολεμαῖος ἐκήδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ὅπου  
νῦν ἔτι κεῖται· οὐ μὲν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πυέλῳ· ὑαλίνη  
γὰρ αὕτη, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν χρυσῇ κατέθηκεν· ἐσύλησε  
δ' αὐτὴν<sup>3</sup> ὁ Κόκκης καὶ Παρεΐσακτος ἐπικληθεὶς  
Πτολεμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς Συρίας ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἐκπεσὼν  
εὐθύς, ὥστ' ἀνόνητα αὐτῷ τὰ σῦλα γενέσθαι.

9. "Ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι κατὰ μὲν τὸν  
εἴσπλουον ἐν δεξιᾷ ἡ νῆσος καὶ ὁ πύργος ὁ Φάρος,  
κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐτέραν χεῖρα αἱ τε χοιρίδες καὶ ἡ

<sup>1</sup> περιπαρεῖς Corais.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπ' αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν Dhi.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτὴν Emoz, αὐτόν other MSS.

oracle of the Babylonian Zeus, all agreed that "Philip Ptolemy" (surely an error for "Philip Arrhidæus," the immediate successor of Alexander, or for "Ptolemy I") should take it from Babylon to Aegypt and bury it at Memphis; and that he took the body to Memphis, but, by order of the chief priest of the temple there, immediately took it to Alexandria. There, according to Diodorus Siculus (l.c.), Ptolemy devised a sacred precinct (τέμενος), which in size and construction was worthy of Alexander's glory. When Augustus was in Alexandria, he saw the body, having had the coffin and body brought forth from its shrine, not only saw the d, a piece of nose

<sup>3</sup> Pelusiac branch  
'Camel's Wall,'"

more, Perdicas lost his life, having been slain by his soldiers at the time when Ptolemy attacked him and hemmed him up in a desert island.<sup>1</sup> So Perdicas was killed, having been transfixd by his soldiers' sarissae<sup>2</sup> when they attacked him; but the kings who were with him, both Aridaeus<sup>3</sup> and the children of Alexander, and also Rhoxanê, Alexander's wife, departed for Macedonia; and the body of Alexander was carried off by Ptolemy and given sepulture in Alexandria, where it still now lies—not, however, in the same sarcophagus as before, for the present one is made of glass,<sup>4</sup> whereas the one wherein Ptolemy laid it was made of gold. The latter was plundered by the Ptolemy nicknamed "Cocces"<sup>5</sup> and "Pareisactus,"<sup>6</sup> who came over from Syria but was immediately<sup>7</sup> expelled, so that his plunder proved unprofitable to him.

9. In the Great Harbour at the entrance, on the right hand, are the island and the tower Pharos, and on the other hand are the reefs and also the

where he was unsuccessful; and then later near Memphis, where his soldiers mutinied (Diodorus Siculus 18. 33 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Long Macedonian pikes.

<sup>3</sup> Also spelled Arrhidaeus.

<sup>4</sup> Or, possibly, "alabaster." Cp. the so-called "Sarcophagus of Alexander" found at Sidon and now at the Ottoman Museum in Constantinople.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* "scarlet."

<sup>6</sup> Literally, "Pareisactus" means "one who has been brought in (*i.e.* upon the throne) privily," *i.e.* "usurper." But scholars take the word to mean "Pretender" in this passage and with Ptolemy XI (so Tozer, *Selections*, p. 500).

<sup>7</sup> This must mean "immediately" after his violation of the tomb, for Ptolemy XI mounted the throne in 80 B.C. and, so far as is known, he was never expelled till 58 B.C.



Λοχιὰς ἄκρα, ἔχουσα βασίλειον. εἰσπλεύσαντι δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστὶ συνεχῇ τοῖς ἐν τῇ Λοχιᾷ διὰ τὰ ἐνδοτέρω βασίλεια, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας ἔχοντα διαίτας καὶ ἄλσιν· τούτοις δ' ὑπόκειται ὁ τε ὀρυκτὸς λιμὴν καὶ κρυπτός,<sup>1</sup> ἴδιος τῶν βασιλέων, καὶ ἡ Ἀντίρροδος, νησίον προκείμενον τοῦ ὀρυκτοῦ λιμένος, βασίλειον ἅμα καὶ λιμένιον ἔχον· ἐκάλεσαν δ' οὕτως, ὥς ἂν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἐνί-μιλλον. ὑπέρεκειται δὲ τούτου τὸ θέατρον· εἴτα τὸ Ποσειδίου, ἀγκῶν τις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐμπορίου καλου-

... ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος· ὃ  
... ἔτι μᾶλλον προνεῦον  
εἰς μέσον τὸν λιμένα ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρῃ κατεσκεύασε  
δαίταν βασιλικήν, ἣν Τιμώνιον προσηγόρευσε.  
τούτο δ' ἔπραξε τὸ τελευταῖον, ἡνίκα προλειφθεὶς  
ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπήρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν μετὰ  
τὴν ἐν Ἀκτίῳ κατοπραγίαν, Τιμώνιον<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ  
κρίνας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ὃν διάξειν ἔμελλεν ἔρημος  
τῶν τοσούτων φίλων. εἴτα τὸ Καισάριον καὶ τὸ  
Ἐμπόριον καὶ αἱ<sup>3</sup> ἀποστάσεις· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
τὰ νεώρια μέχρι τοῦ ἑπτασταδίου. ταῦτα μὲν  
τὰ περὶ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα.

C 795 10. Ἐξῆς δ' Εὐνόστου λιμὴν μετὰ τὸ ἑπτα-  
στάδιον· καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὁ ὀρυκτός, ὃν καὶ  
Κιβωτὸν καλοῦσιν, ἔχων καὶ αὐτὸς νεώρια. ἐνδο-  
τέρω δὲ τούτου διῶρυξ πλωτὴ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης

<sup>1</sup> κρυπτός, the reading of all MSS., Jones restores, for κλειστός, Corais and the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> Τιμώνιον E, Τιμόνιον other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> αἱ, Corais inserts; καὶ ἀποστάσεις E.

promontory Lochias, with a royal palace upon it; and on sailing into the harbour one comes, on the left, to the inner royal palaces, which are continuous with those on Lochias and have groves and numerous lodges painted in various colours. Below these lies the harbour that was dug by the hand of man and is hidden from view,<sup>1</sup> the private property of the kings, as also Antirrhodos, an isle lying off the artificial harbour, which has both a royal palace and a small harbour. They so called it as being a rival of Rhodes. Above the artificial harbour lies the theatre; then the Poseidium—an elbow, as it were, projecting from the Emporium, as it is called, and containing a temple of Poseidon. To this elbow of land Antony added a mole projected still farther, into the middle of a harbour, and on the extremity of it built a royal lodge which he called Timonium. This was his last act, when, forsaken by his friends, he sailed away to Alexandria after his misfortune at Actium,<sup>2</sup> having chosen to live the life of a Timon<sup>3</sup> the rest of his days, which he intended to spend in solitude from all those friends.<sup>4</sup> Then one comes to the Caesarium and the Emporium and the warehouses; and after these to the ship-houses, which extend as far as the Heptastadium. So much for the Great Harbour and its surroundings.

10. Next, after the Heptastadium, one comes to the Harbour of Eunostus, and, above this, to the artificial harbour, which is also called Cibotus; it too has ship-houses. Farther in there is a navigable

<sup>1</sup> Timon the Athenian was nicknamed the "Misanthrope." Antony, like Timon, felt that he himself also had been wronged and treated with ingratitude, and therefore hated all men (Plutarch, *Antony* 69).

<sup>4</sup> He slew himself in 30 B.C.

πεταμένη τῆς Μαρεώτιδος.<sup>1</sup> ἔξω μὲν οὖν τῆς διώρυγος μικρὸν ἔτι λείπεται τῆς πόλεως· εἴθ' ἡ Νεκρόπολις<sup>2</sup> τὸ προάστειον, ἐν ᾧ κῆποι τε πολλοὶ καὶ ταφαὶ καὶ καταγωγαὶ πρὸς τὰς ταριχείας τῶν νεκρῶν ἐπιτήδεια. ἐντὸς δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τό τε Σαράπιον καὶ ἄλλα τεμένη ἀρχαῖα ἐκλελειμμένα πως διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων<sup>3</sup> κατασκευὴν τῶν ἐν Νικοπόλει· καὶ γὰρ ἀμφιθέατρον καὶ στάδιον καὶ οἱ πεντετηρικοὶ ἀγῶνες ἐκεῖ συντελοῦνται· τὰ δὲ παλαιὰ ὀλιγώρηται. συλλήβδην δ' εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις μεστή ἐστίν ἀναθημάτων καὶ ἱερῶν· κάλλιστον δὲ τὸ γυμνάσιον, μείζους ἢ σταδιαίας ἔχον τὰς στοάς. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τό τε<sup>4</sup> δικαστήριον καὶ τὰ ἄλση, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἰάνειον, ὕψος τι χειροποίητον στροβιλοειδὲς ἐμφερὲς ὄχθῳ πετρῶδει διὰ κοχλίου τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἔχον· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐστὶν ἀπιδεῖν ὅλην τὴν πόλιν. ὑποκειμένην αὐτῷ πανταχόθεν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἡ ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος πλατεῖα διατείνει παρὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον μέχρι τῆς πύλης τῆς Κανωβικῆς· εἴθ' Ἰππόδρομος καλούμενός ἐστι καὶ αἱ παρακείμεναι<sup>5</sup> ἄλλαι μέχρι τῆς διώρυγος τῆς Κανωβικῆς. διὰ

<sup>1</sup> Μαρεώτιδος IJ, Μαραιώτιδος other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Etoz read καὶ after Νεκρόπολις.

<sup>3</sup> νέων, Groskurd, for νεκρῶν s, νεῶν other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> στοάς. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τό τε, Corais, for στοὰς ἐν μέσῳ. τὸ δέ.

<sup>5</sup> D (?) and the editors before Kramer add αἱ before ἄλλαι.  
 "ord of similar meaning,  
 conj. καλῖαι ("wooden  
 "), for ἄλλαι.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. the Nicopolis near Actium, and its sacred precinct, and its quinquennial games (7. 7. 6 and footnote 1).

<sup>2</sup> Of the city, not the *gymnasium*.

canal, which extends to Lake Mareotis. Now outside the canal there is still left only a small part of the city; and then one comes to the suburb Necropolis, in which are many gardens and graves and halting-places fitted up for the embalming of corpses, and, inside the canal, both to the Sarapium and to other sacred precincts of ancient times, which are now almost abandoned on account of the construction of the . . . . . Nicopolis; for instance, there are : . . . . . la st. . . . . "Necr." and the . . . . . are : . . . . . but the ancient buildings have fallen into neglect. In short, the city is full of public and sacred structures; but the most beautiful is the Gymnasium, which has porticoes more than a stadium in length. And in the middle<sup>2</sup> are both the court of justice and the groves. Here, too, is the Pancium,<sup>3</sup> a "height," as it were, which was made by the hand of man; it has the shape of a fir-cone, resembles a rocky hill, and is ascended by a spiral road; and from the summit one can see the whole of the city lying below it on all sides. The broad street that runs lengthwise<sup>4</sup> extends from Necropolis past the Gymnasium to the Canobic Gate; and then one comes to the Hippodrome, as it is called, and to the other (streets?)<sup>5</sup> that lie parallel, extending as far as the Canobic

<sup>2</sup> Sanctuary of Pan.

<sup>4</sup> See § 8 above.

<sup>5</sup> Both the text and the interpretation are doubtful. *ὁδοί* ("streets") is not found in the MSS.; but, although it is the *natural* word to supply, just as *ὁδοί* must be supplied above with *πλατεία* ("broad"), it hardly suits the context, as Kramer, who conjectures *κατοικίαι* ("settlements"), insists. Vogel (see critical note) simply emends *ἄλλαι* ("other") to *ἅλαι* ("salt-works").

δὲ τοῦ Ἱπποδρόμου διελθόντι ἡ Νικόπολις ἐστίν, ἔχουσα κατοικίαν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πόλεως οὐκ ἐλάττω· τριάκοντα δὲ εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας στάδιοι. τοῦτον δὲ ἐτίμησεν ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ τὸν τόπον, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐνίκα τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἐπεξιόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ Ἀντωνίου· καὶ λαβὼν ἐξ ἐφόδου τὴν πόλιν ἠνάγκασε τὸν μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἑαυτὸν διαχειρίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Κλεοπάτραν ζῶσαν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἐξουσίαν· μικρὸν δ' ὕστερον καὶ κείνη ἑαυτὴν ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ διεχειρίσατο λάθρα διήγματι ἀσπίδος ἢ φαρμάκῳ ἐπιχρίστω (λέγεται γὰρ ἀμφοτέρως), καὶ συνέβη καταλυθῆναι τὴν τῶν Λαγιδῶν ἀρχήν, πολλὰ συμμείνασαν ἔτη.

11. Πτολεμαῖος γὰρ ὁ Λάγου διεδέξατο Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐκείνου δὲ ὁ Φιλάδελφος, τοῦτον δὲ ὁ Εὐεργέτης, εἰθ' ὁ Φιλοπάτωρ ὁ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλείας, εἰθ' ὁ Ἐπιφανής, εἰθ' ὁ Φιλομήτωρ, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς αἰεὶ διαδεχόμενος· τοῦτον δ' ἀδελφὸς διεδέξατο ὁ δεύτερος Εὐεργέτης, ὃν καὶ Φύσκωνα προσαγορεύουσι, τοῦτον δ' ὁ Λάθουρος ἐπικληθεὶς C 796 Πτολεμαῖος, τοῦτον δ' ὁ Αὐλητῆς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς, ὅσπερ ἦν τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πατήρ. ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ μετὰ τὸν τρίτον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένοι χεῖρον ἐπολιτεύσαντο, χεῖριστα δ' ὁ τέταρτος καὶ ἔβδομος καὶ ὁ ὕστατος, ὁ Αὐλητῆς· ὃς χωρὶς τῆς ἄλλης ἀσελγείας χοραυλεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἤσκησε,

<sup>1</sup> χοραυλεῖν B, χοραύλην other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* 4. 11. 5) says "twenty."

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Plutarch, *Antony* 86.

canal. Having passed through the Hippodrome, one comes to Nicopolis, which has a settlement on the sea no smaller than a city. It is thirty<sup>1</sup> stadia distant from Alexandria. Augustus Caesar honoured this place because it was here that he conquered in battle those who came out against him with Antony; and when he had taken the city at the first onset, he forced Antony to put himself to death and Cleopatra to come into his power alive; but a little later she too put herself to death secretly, while in prison, by the bite of an asp or (for two accounts are given) by applying a poisonous ointment;<sup>2</sup> and the result was that the empire of the sons of Lagus, which had endured for many years, was dissolved.

11. For Ptolemy the son of Lagus succeeded Alexander; and he in turn was succeeded by Philadelphus, and he by Euergetes, and then he by Philopator the son of Agathocleia, and then he by Epiphanes, and then he by Philometor, a son always succeeding a father; but Philometor was succeeded by a brother, the second Euergetes, who is also called Physcon, and he by the Ptolemy nicknamed Lathurus,<sup>3</sup> and he by Auletes of our own time, who was the father of Cleopatra. Now all the kings after the third Ptolemy, being corrupted by luxurious living, have administered the affairs of government badly, but worst of all the fourth, seventh, and the last, Auletes, who, . . . . . cautious-ness, practised the . . . . . with

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* Ptolemy VII. Strabo here skips Ptolemy IX (Alexander I) and Ptolemy X (Alexander II), who apparently had no place in the official list of legitimate kings (cp. Letronne edition, note *ad loc.*).

## STRABO

καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ γε<sup>1</sup> ἐσεμνύνετο<sup>2</sup> τοσοῦτον, ὥστ' οὐκ ὤκνει συντελεῖν ἀγῶνας ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, εἰς οὓς παρῇει διαμιλλησόμενος τοῖς ἀνταγωνισταῖς. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν οἱ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἐξέβαλον, τριῶν δ' αὐτῷ θυγατέρων οὐσῶν, ὧν μία γνησία ἢ πρεσβυτάτη, ταύτην ἀνέδειξαν βασιλίσσαν· οἱ υἱοὶ δ' αὐτοῦ δύο νῆπιοι τῆς τότε χρείας ἐξέπιπτον τελέως. τῇ δὲ κατασταθείσῃ μετεπέμψαντο ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς Συρίας Κυβισιάκτην<sup>3</sup> τινά, προσποιησάμενον τοῦ γένους εἶναι τῶν Συριακῶν βασιλέων· τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἀπεστραγγάλισεν ἡ βασιλίσσα, οὐ φέρουσα τὸ βάνανσον καὶ τὸ ἀνελεύθερον. ἦκε δ' αὐτ' ἐκείνου προσποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὸς εἶναι Μιθριδάτου υἱὸς τοῦ Εὐπάτορος Ἀρχέλαος, ὃς ἦν μὲν Ἀρχελάου υἱὸς τοῦ πρὸς Σύλλαν διαπολεμήσαντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τιμηθέντος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, πύππος δὲ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Καππαδόκων ὑστάτου καθ' ἡμῖς, ἱερεὺς δὲ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ Κομάνων. Γαβινίῳ δὲ τότε συνδιέτριψεν ὡς συστρατεύσων ἐπὶ Παρθυαίους, λαθὼν δὲ τοῦτον κομίζεται διὰ τινων εἰς τὴν βασιλίσσαν καὶ ἀναδείκνυται βασιλεὺς. ἐν τούτῳ τὸν Αὐλητὴν ἀφικόμενον εἰς Ῥώμην δεξάμενος Πομπήιος Μάγνος συνίστησι τῇ συγ-

<sup>1</sup> γε, Corais, for δέ.

<sup>2</sup> Cx have ἐπὶ before τοσοῦτον.

<sup>3</sup> Κυβισιάκην C.

<sup>1</sup> Hence "Auletes" ("Flute-player").

<sup>2</sup> According to Dio Cassius (39, 13), this was Beronice (IV). She reigned with her mother Cleopatra Tryphaena for one year (58-57 B.C.) and then alone for one year.

<sup>3</sup> Later, Ptolemy XII and XIII.

<sup>4</sup> A nickname, "Salt-fish Dealer." Dio Cassius (39, 57) says, "a certain Seleucus."





κλήτῳ καὶ διαπράττεται κáθoδoν μὲν τούτῳ, τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων τῶν πλείστων, ἑκατὸν ὄντων, ὄλεθρον τῶν καταπρεσβευσάντων αὐτοῦ· τούτων δ' ἦν καὶ Δίων ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκός, ἀρχιπρεσβευτῆς γεγωνώς. καταχθείς οὖν ὑπὸ Γαβινίου Πτολεμαῖος τὸν τε Ἀρχέλαον ἀναιρεῖ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, χρόνον δ' οὐ πολὺν τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσθεῖς τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, καταλιπὼν δύο μὲν υἱεῖς, δύο δὲ θυγατέρας, πρεσβυτάτην δὲ Κλεοπάτραν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀπέδειξαν βασιλέας τὸν τε πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων καὶ τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, οἱ δὲ συνόντες τῇ παιδί καταστασιάσαντες ἐξέβαλον τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, καὶ ἀπῆρε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς εἰς τὴν Συρίαν. ἐν τούτῳ Πομπήιος Μάγνος ἦκε φεύγων ἐκ Παλαιφαρσάλου πρὸς τὸ Πιηλούσιον καὶ τὸ Κάσιον<sup>1</sup> ὄρος. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν δολοφονοῦσιν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπελθὼν δὲ Καῖσαρ τὸν τε μειρακίσκον διαφθείρει καὶ καθίστησι τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασίλισσαν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, μεταπεμψάμενος ἐκ τῆς φυγῆς· συμβασιλεύειν δ' ἀπέδειξε τὸν λοιπὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῇ, νέον παντελῶς ὄντα.

Ο 797 μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καίσαρος τελευτὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν Φιλίπποις διαβὰς Ἀντώνιος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξετίμησεν ἐπὶ πλεόν τὴν Κλεοπάτραν, ὥστε καὶ γυναῖκα ἔκρινε καὶ ἐτεκνοποίησατο ἐξ αὐτῆς, τὸν τε Ἀκτιακὸν πόλεμον συνήρατο ἐκείνῃ καὶ συνέφυγε· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπακολουθήσας ὁ Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ ἀμφοτέρους κατέλυσε καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτον ἔπαυσε παροινουμένην.

<sup>1</sup> Κάσιον Dlx, κάσσιον other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> So Dio Cassius (39. 13).

him to the Senate and effected, not only his restoration, but also the death of most of the ambassadors, one hundred in number, who had undertaken the embassy against him,<sup>1</sup> and among these was Dion the academic philosopher, who had been made chief ambassador. Accordingly, on being restored by Gabinius, Ptolemy slew both Archelaüs and his own daughter. But before he had added much time to his reign, he died of disease, leaving behind two sons and also two daughters, the eldest daughter being Cleopatra.<sup>2</sup> Now the Alexandrians proclaimed as sovereigns both the elder of the boys and Cleopatra; but the associates of the boy caused an uprising and banished Cleopatra, and she set sail with her sister to Syria. In the meantime Pompey the Great had come in flight from Palaepharsalus to Pelusium and Mt. Casius. Now Pompey was treacherously slain by the king's party, but when Caesar arrived he put the lad to death, and, having summoned Cleopatra from exile, established her as queen of Aegypt; and he appointed her remaining brother to reign as king with her, although he was exceedingly young. After the death of Caesar and the battle of Philippi,<sup>3</sup> Antony crossed over to Asia and held Cleopatra in such extraordinary honour that he chose her as wife and had children by her; and he undertook the battle at Actium with her and fled with her; and after this Augustus Caesar pursued them, destroyed both, and put an end to Aegypt's being ruled with drunken violence.

<sup>2</sup> The famous Cleopatra.

<sup>3</sup> 42 B.C.

12. Ἐπαρχία δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ, φόρους μὲν τελοῦσα ἀξιολόγους, ὑπὸ σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν διοικουμένη τῶν πεμπομένων ἐπύρχων ἡεῖ. ὁ μὲν οὖν πεμφθεὶς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχει τάξιν· ὑπ' αὐτῇ δ' ἐστὶν ὁ δικαιοδότης, ὁ τῶν πολλῶν κρίσεων κύριος· ἄλλος δ' ἐστὶν ὁ προσαγορευόμενος ἰδιόλογος,<sup>1</sup> ὃς τῶν ἀδεσπύτων καὶ τῶν εἰς Καίσαρα πίπτειν ὀφειλόντων ἐξεταστὴς ἐστὶν· παρέπονται δὲ τούτοις ἀπελευθεροὶ Καίσαρος καὶ οἰκονόμοι, μείζω καὶ ἐλάττω πεπιστευμένοι πράγματα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ στρατιωτικοῦ τρία τάγματα, ὧν τὸ ἐν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἵδρυται, τᾶλλα δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐννέα μὲν εἰσι σπεῖραι Ῥωμαίων, τρεῖς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, τρεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐν Συήνῃ, φρουρὰ τοῖς τόποις, τρεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἱππαρχαὶ τρεῖς ὁμοίως διατεταγμέναι κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικαιρίους τόπους. τῶν δ' ἐπιχωρίων ἀρχόντων κατὰ πόλιν μὲν ὃ τε ἐξηγητὴς ἐστὶ, πορφύραν ἀμπεχόμενος καὶ ἔχων πατρίους τιμὰς καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν τῇ πόλει χρησίμων, καὶ ὁ ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιδικαστὴς, τέταρτος δὲ ὁ νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός. ἦσαν μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐταὶ αἱ ἀρχαί, κακῶς δὲ πολιτευομένων τῶν βασιλέων ἠφανίζετο καὶ ἡ τῆς πόλεως εὐκαιρία διὰ τὴν ἀνομίαν. ὁ γοῦν Πολύβιος γεγωνὼς ἐν τῇ πόλει βδελύττεται τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἰδιόλογος, Corais, for κύριος λόγος s, ἴδιος λόγος other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> s Gallus (2. 5. 12).

12. Egypt is now a Province; and it not only pays considerable tribute, but also is governed by prudent men<sup>1</sup>—the praefects who are sent there from time to time. Now he who is sent has the rank of the king; and subordinate to him is the administrator of justice,<sup>2</sup> who has supreme authority over most of the law-suits; and another is the official called Idiologus,<sup>3</sup> who inquires into all properties that are without owners and that ought to fall to Caesar; and these are attended by freedmen of Caesar, as also by stewards, who are entrusted with affairs of more or less importance. There are also three legions of soldiers, one of which is stationed in the city and the others in the country; and apart from these there are nine Roman cohorts, three in the city, three on the borders of Aethiopia in Syenê, as a guard for that region, and three in the rest of the country. And there are also three bodies of cavalry, which likewise are assigned to the various critical points. Of the native officials in the city, one is the Interpreter,<sup>4</sup> who is clad in purple, has hereditary prerogatives, and has charge of the interests of the city; and another the Recorder;<sup>5</sup> and another the Chief Judge;<sup>6</sup> and the fourth the Night Commander.<sup>7</sup> Now these officers existed also in the time of the kings, but, since the kings were carrying on a bad government, the prosperity of the city was also vanishing on account of the prevailing lawlessness. At any rate, Polybius, who had visited the city, is disgusted with the state of

<sup>1</sup> A kind of "Special Agent," or "Procurator," of Caesar.

<sup>4</sup> Interpres.

<sup>6</sup> Judicum praefectus.

<sup>5</sup> Scriba publicus.

<sup>7</sup> Praetor nocturnus.

τότε κατάστασιν, καὶ φησι τρία γένη τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν, τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ<sup>1</sup> ἐπιχώριον φύλον, ὃξὺ καὶ ἀπολιτικόν,<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὸ μισθοφορικόν, βαρὺ καὶ<sup>3</sup> πολὺ καὶ ἀνάγωγον· ἐξ ἔθους γὰρ παλαιοῦ ξένους ἔτρεφον τοὺς τὰ ὄπλα ἔχοντας, ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρχεσθαι δεδιδαγμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων οὐδένειαν· τρίτον δ' ἦν γένος τὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, οὐδ' αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολιτικὸν διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, κρεῖττον δ' ἐκείνων ὅμως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μιγύδες, Ἕλληνες ὅμως ἀνέκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμέμνηντο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθους. ἠφανισμένου δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ πλήθους, μάλιστα  
 Ο 798 ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Φύσκωνος, καθ' ὃν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν ὁ Πολύβιος (καταστασιαζόμενος γὰρ ὁ Φύσκων πλεονάκις<sup>4</sup> τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφίλει τὰ πλήθη καὶ διέφθειρε), τοιούτων δὴ, φησὶν, ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ ὄντι τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ·

Αἰγυπτίωνδ' ἵεσθαι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλήν τε.

13. Τοιαῦτα δ' ἦν, εἰ μὴ<sup>5</sup> χεῖρω, καὶ τὰ τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων.<sup>6</sup> Ῥωμαῖοι δ' εἰς δύναμιν, ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἐπηνώρθωσαν τὰ πολλά, τὴν μὲν πόλιν διατάξαντες ὡς εἶπον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν

<sup>1</sup> Except F, the MSS. read τό before ἐπιχώριον.

<sup>2</sup> Before πολιτικόν (MSS.) Tyrwhitt conj. οὐ; Kramer conj. ἀπολιτικόν; C. Müller ὀχλητικόν.

<sup>3</sup> The words βαρὺ καὶ are found only in C.

<sup>4</sup> πολλάκις μοι.

<sup>5</sup> F has καὶ after μὴ.

<sup>6</sup> Except F, the MSS. have καὶ before Ῥωμαῖοι.

things then existing; and he says that three classes inhabited the city: first, the Aegyptian or native stock of people, who were quick-tempered and not<sup>1</sup> inclined to civic life; and, secondly, the mercenary class, who were severe and numerous and intractable (for by an ancient custom they would maintain foreign men-at-arms, who had been trained to rule rather than to be ruled, on account of the worthlessness of the kings); and, third, the tribe of the Alexandrians, who also were not distinctly inclined to civil life, and for the same reasons, but still they were better than those others,<sup>2</sup> for even though they were a mixed people, still they were Greeks by origin and mindful of the customs common to the Greeks. But after this mass of people had also been blotted out, chiefly by Euergetes Physcon, in whose time Polybius went to Alexandria (for, being opposed by factions, Physcon more often sent the masses against the soldiers and thus caused their destruction)—such being the state of affairs in the city, Polybius says, in very truth there remained for one, in the words of the poet, merely

“to go to Aegypt, a long and painful journey.”<sup>3</sup>

13. Such, then, if not worse, was the state of affairs under the later kings also; but the Romans have, to the best of their ability, I might say, set most things right, having organised the city as I have said,<sup>4</sup> and having appointed throughout the

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. omit the negative (“not”), without which one would naturally interpret *δξύ* as meaning “acute” rather than “quick-tempered.”

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the first class.

<sup>3</sup> *Odyssey* 4, 483.

<sup>4</sup> § 12 above.

ἐπιστρατήγους τινὰς καὶ νομάρχας καὶ ἐθνάρχας καλουμένους ἀποδείξαντες, πραγμάτων οὐ μεγάλων ἐπιστατεῖν ἡξιωμένους. τῆς δ' εὐκαιρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τὸ μέγιστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τῆς Αἰγύπτου πάσης μόνος ἐστὶν οὗτος ὁ τόπος πρὸς ἄμφω πεφυκὼς εὖ, τὰ τε ἐκ θαλάττης διὰ τὸ εὐλίμενον, καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι πάντα εὐμαρῶς ὁ ποταμὸς πορθμεύει συνάγει τε εἰς τοιοῦτον χωρίον, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐστί.

Τῆς μὲν οὖν πόλεως ταύτας ἂν τις λέγοι τὰς ἀρετάς· τῆς Αἰγύπτου δὲ τὰς προσόδους<sup>1</sup> ἔν τινι λόγῳ Κικέρων φράζει, φήσας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας πατρὶ τῷ Αὐλητῇ προσφέρεισθαι φόρον ταλάντων μυρίων δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων. ὅπου οὖν ὁ κύκιστα καὶ ῥαθυμότατα τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν τοσαῦτα προσωδεύετο, τί χρὴ νομίσαι τὰ νῦν, διὰ τοσαύτης ἐπιμελείας οἰκονομούμενα καὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἐμποριῶν καὶ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτικῶν ἐπηυξημένων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον; πρότερον μὲν γε οὐδ' εἴκοσι πλοῖα ἐθάρρει τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον διαπερᾶν, ὥστε ἔξω τῶν στενῶν ὑπερκύπτειν, νῦν δὲ καὶ στόλοι μεγάλοι στέλλονται μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ πολυτιμότερος

<sup>1</sup> Except B, the MSS. have *ds* after *προσόδους*.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo seems not to have known that the office of Epistrategus was in existence as far back as 181 B.C. (Victor Martin, *Les Epistratèges*, pp. 11, 173, Geneva, 1911). But in the time of the Ptolemies only the Thebais had an Epistrategus (*l.c.* p. 22), and, as the title indicates, he was a Military Governor. The several Epistrategi appointed by the

country officials called Epistrategi<sup>1</sup> and Nomarchs<sup>2</sup> and Ethnarchs,<sup>3</sup> who were thought worthy to superintend affairs of no great importance. Among the happy advantages of the city, the greatest is the fact that this is the only place in all Aegypt which is by nature well situated with reference to both things—both to commerce by sea, on account of the good harbours, and to commerce by land, because the river easily conveys and brings together everything into a place so situated—the greatest emporium in the inhabited world.

Now one might call these the excellent attributes of the city; and as for the revenues of Aegypt, Cicero tells about them in a certain speech,<sup>4</sup> saying that a tribute of twelve thousand five hundred talents<sup>5</sup> was paid annually to Auletes, the father of Cleopatra. If, then, the man who administered the kingdom in the worst and most careless way obtained so large a revenue, what should one think of the present revenues, which are managed with so much diligence, and when the commerce with the Indians and the Troglodytes has been increased to so great an extent? In earlier times, at least, not so many as twenty vessels would dare to traverse the Arabian Gulf far enough to get a peep outside the straits, but at the present time even large fleets are despatched as far as India and the extremities of Aethiopia, from which the most valuable cargoes

Romans, however, were given only administrative power, being wholly deprived of military power (*l.c.* p. 57).

<sup>2</sup> "Rulers of Nomes" (on the "Nomes," see 17. 1. 3).

<sup>3</sup> "Rulers of Tribes."

<sup>4</sup> No longer extant.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Strabo, *Geographica* (17. 52), who says six thousand talents.



κομίζεται φόρτος εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κἄντεῦθεν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπέμπεται τόπους· ὥστε τὰ τέλη διπλάσια συνάγεται, τὰ μὲν εἰσαγωγικά, τὰ δὲ ἐξαγωγικά· τῶν δὲ βαρυτίμων βαρέα καὶ τὰ τέλη. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ μονοπωλίας ἔχει· μόνη γὰρ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια τῶν τοιούτων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὑποδοχεῖόν ἐστι καὶ χορηγεῖ τοῖς ἐκτός. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον κατιδεῖν ἐστι τὴν εὐφυῖαν ταύτην περιοδεύοντι τὴν χώραν, καὶ πρῶτον τὴν παραλίαν ἡρξαμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ Καταβαθμοῦ· μέχρι δεῦρο γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ Αἴγυπτος, ἡ δ' ἐξῆς ἐστὶ Κυρηναία καὶ οἱ περιοικούντες βάρβαροι Μαρμαρίδαι.

14. Ἀπὸ μὲν οὖν Καταβαθμοῦ εἰς Παραιτόνιον<sup>1</sup> εὐθυπλοοῦντι σταδίων ἐστὶν ἐννακοσίων ὁ δρόμος. πόλις δ' ἐστὶ καὶ λιμὴν μέγας τετταράκοντά που  
 C 799 σταδίων· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν Παραιτόνιον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' Ἀμμωνίαν. μεταξὺ δὲ ἦ τε Αἰγυπτίων κώμη καὶ ἡ Αἰνησίσφυρα<sup>2</sup> ἄκρα, καὶ Τυνδάρειοι σκόπελοι, νησίδια τέτταρα ἔχοντα λιμένα· εἰθ' ἐξῆς ἄκρα Δρέπανον καὶ νῆσος Αἰνησίππεια<sup>3</sup> ἔχουσα λιμένα καὶ κώμη Ἀπὶς, ἀφ' ἧς εἰς μὲν Παραιτόνιον στάδιοι ἑκατόν, εἰς δὲ Ἀμμωνος ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν πέντε. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Παραιτονίου εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν<sup>4</sup> χίλιοι που καὶ τριακόσιοι στάδιοι. μεταξὺ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἄκρα λευκόγειος, Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ καλουμένη, ἔπειτα Φοινικοῦς λιμὴν

<sup>1</sup> Παραιτόνιον F, Παραιτόνιον mss.

<sup>2</sup> Αἰνησίσφυρα. Nylund and later editors, following Ptolemaeus (4. 5), for νησιφύρα F, νησισφύρα other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνισσίππεια DL<sup>2</sup>F<sup>2</sup>hi, ἐνισσίππεια C<sup>2</sup>az, ἐνισσίππεια γ, ἐνισσίππεια m, ἐνισσίππεια ο, Αἰνησίππεια Ptolemaeus.

are brought to Aegypt, and thence sent forth again to the other regions; so that double duties are collected, on both imports and exports; and on goods that cost heavily the duty is also heavy. And in fact the country has monopolies also; for Alexandria alone is not only the receptacle of goods of this kind, for the most part, but also the source of supply to the outside world. And, further, one can perceive more clearly these natural advantages if one travels round the country, visiting first of all the part of the coast which begins at Catabathmus—for Aegypt extends as far as that place, though the country next thereafter belongs to the Cyrenacans and to ' ' ' barbarians, the Marmaridae.

14. \ . . . Catabathmus to Paraetionium, if one sails in a straight course, is nine hundred stadia. It is a city and large harbour of about forty stadia.<sup>1</sup> Some call the city Paraetionium, but others Ammonia. In the interval, one comes to the village of the Aegyptians, to the promontory Aenesisphyra, and to the Tyndareian Rocks, which latter are four small islands with a harbour; then next to Drepanum, a promontory, and to Aenesippeia, an island with a harbour, and to Apis, a village, from which the distance to Paraetionium is one hundred stadia, and to the temple of Ammon, a five days' journey. The distance from Paraetionium to Alexandria is approximately one thousand three hundred stadia; and in the interval one comes first to a promontory of white earth, Leucê Actê, as it is called, and then to Phœnicus, a harbour, and to

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* in circuit.

<sup>4</sup> εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, inserted by Mannert and the editors.

καὶ Πινιγεὺς κώμη· εἶτα νῆσος Πηδωνία<sup>1</sup> λιμένα  
 ἔχουσα, εἰτ' Ἀντίφραι μικρὸν ὑπωτέρω τῆς  
 θαλάττης. ἅπασα μὲν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὐκ εὖοινος,  
 πλείω δεχομένου τοῦ κεράμου θάλατταν ἢ οἶνον,  
 ὃν δὴ καλοῦσι Λιβυκόν, ᾧ δὴ καὶ τῷ ζύθῳ<sup>2</sup> τὸ  
 πολὺ φύλλον χρήται τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων· σκώπτονται  
 δὲ μάλιστα αἱ Ἀντίφραι· εἰθ' ὁ Δέρρις<sup>3</sup> λιμὴν,  
 καλούμενος οὕτως διὰ τὴν πλησίον πέτραν  
 μέλαιναν δέρρει εἰοικυῖαν· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ καὶ  
 Ζεφύριον τὸν πλησίον τόπον, εἰτ' ἄλλος λιμὴν  
 Λεύκασπις καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους· εἶτα Κυνὸς σῆμα·  
 εἶτα Ταπόσειρις,<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ, πανήγυριν  
 δεχομένη μεγάλην. (καὶ ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶ Ταπόσειρις  
 ἐπέκεινα τῆς πόλεως ἱκανῶς.) αὐτῆς δὲ πλησίον  
 πετρῶδες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρίον, καὶ αὐτὸ  
 δεχόμενον πολλοὺς τοὺς ἰκμίζοντας<sup>5</sup> ἅπασαν  
 ὥραν ἔτους· εἰθ' ἡ Πιλινθίνη<sup>6</sup> καὶ Νικίου κώμη  
 καὶ Χερρόνησος φρούριον, πλησίον ἤδη τῆς  
 Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς Νεκροπόλεως ἐν ἐβδομή-  
 κοντα σταδίοις. ἡ δὲ Μαρεῖα<sup>7</sup> λίμνη παρατεί-  
 νουσα μέχρι καὶ δεῦρο πλάτος μὲν ἔχει πλειόνων

<sup>1</sup> Σιδονία Cmoz.

<sup>2</sup> ζύθφ, Xylander, for ζύγφ.

<sup>3</sup> Δέρρις EF, Δέρρις other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> .. .. . ith φ above π, I).

eme... following conj. of Tyrwhitt,

<sup>6</sup> .. .. .  
<sup>7</sup> .. .. . MSS.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. from the two other classes

"most c § 12 above), and not

<sup>2</sup> i.e. s others interpret it.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. a "hide."

<sup>4</sup> i.e. like that mentioned in § 16 below.

Pnigeus, a village, and then to Pedonia, an island with a harbour, and then to Antiphræ, which is at only a little distance from the sea. The whole of this country is without good wine, since the wine-jars receive more sea-water than wine; and this they call "Libyan" wine, which, as also beer, is used by most of the tribe of Alexandrians; <sup>1</sup> but Antiphræ is ridiculed most.<sup>2</sup> Then one comes to the harbour Derrhis, so called because of the black rock near by, which resembles a "derrhis"; <sup>3</sup> and the neighbouring place is also called Zephyrium.<sup>4</sup> Then to another harbour, Leucaspis<sup>5</sup> and several others; and then to Cynos-Sema; <sup>6</sup> and then to Taposeiris, not on the sea, which holds a great public festival. (There is also another Taposeiris on the other side of the city and quite far from it.) And near it <sup>7</sup> there is a rocky place on the sea where likewise crowds of people in the prime of life <sup>8</sup> assemble during every season of the year. And then <sup>9</sup> one comes to Plinthinê and to the village of Nicias, and to Cherronesus, a stronghold, where we are now near Alexandria and Necropolis, a distance of seventy stadia. Lake Marcia,<sup>10</sup> which extends even as far as this,<sup>11</sup> has a

<sup>5</sup> "White-shield."

<sup>6</sup> "Bitch's Monument" (cp. Vol. III, p. 377).

<sup>7</sup> The translator understands "it" to refer to the *first* Taposeiris, and parenthesises the preceding statement accordingly, though "it" might refer to the *second* (cp. §§ 16 and 17 below), in which case the parenthesis should end with "season of the year."

<sup>8</sup> The later editors, except Müller-Dübner, very plausibly amend the text to read, "crowds of 'revellers'" (see critical note, and cp. §§ 16 and 17 below).

<sup>9</sup> *i.e.* continuing from the first Taposeiris.

<sup>10</sup> Also called "Marcotis" (§ 7 above).

<sup>11</sup> *i.e.* Cherronesus.

ἡ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίῳ, μῆκος δ' ἐλαττόνων ἢ τριακοσίῳ. ἔχει δ' ὀκτὼ νήσους καὶ τὰ κύκλῳ πάντ' οἰκούμενα καλῶς· εὐοινία τέ ἐστι περὶ τοὺς τόπους, ὥστε καὶ διαχεῖσθαι πρὸς παλαιώσιν τὸν Μαρειώτην<sup>1</sup> οἶνον.

15. Φύεται δ' ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς ἔλεσι καὶ ταῖς λίμναις ἢ τε βύβλος καὶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος κύαμος, ἐξ οὗ τὸ κιβώριον, σχεδόν τι ἰσοῦψεις ῥάβδοι ὅσον δεκάποδες. ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν βύβλος ψιλὴ ῥάβδος ἐστὶν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ χαίτην ἔχουσα, ὁ δὲ κύαμος κατὰ πολλὰ μέρη φύλλα καὶ ἄνθη ἐκφέρει καὶ καρπὸν ὅμοιον τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν κυάμφι, μεγέθει μόνον καὶ γεύσει διαλλάττοντα. οἱ οὖν κυαμῶνες ἠδέϊαν ὄψιν παρέχουσι καὶ τέρψιν τοῖς ἐνευχεῖσθαι βουλομένοις· εὐωχοῦνται δ' ἐν σκάφαις θαλαμηγοῖς, ἐνδύνοντες εἰς τὸ πύκνωμα τῶν κυάμων καὶ C 800 σκιαζόμενοι τοῖς φύλλοις· ἔστι γὰρ σφύδρα μεγάλη, ὥστε καὶ ἀντὶ ποτηρίων καὶ τρυβλίων χρῆσθαι· ἔχει γὰρ τινα καὶ κοιλότητα ἐπιτηδεῖαν πρὸς τοῦτο· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρεια μεστή τούτων ἐστὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐργαστήρια, ὥς σκεύεσι χρωμένων· καὶ οἱ ἀγροὶ μίαν τινὰ τῶν προσόδων καὶ ταύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων. ὁ μὲν δὴ κύαμος τοιοῦτος· ἡ δὲ βύβλος ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὐ πολλὴ φύεται (οὐ γὰρ ἀσκεῖται), ἐν δὲ τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τοῦ Δέλτα πολλή, ἡ μὲν χείρων,

<sup>1</sup> Μαραιώτην CDEh, Μαρειώτην I<sup>1</sup>hmoxx.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. drawn off from the lees, not merely once or twice, for early consumption, but time and again, with a view to aging it into old wine of superior quality. The special name



ἡ δὲ βελτίων, ἡ ἱερατικὴ· κἀνταῦθα δέ τινες τῶν τὰς προσόδους ἐπεκτείνειν βουλομένων μετήνεγκαν τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἐντρέχειαν,<sup>1</sup> ἣν ἐκεῖνοι παρεῦρον ἐπὶ τοῦ φοίνικος (καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ καρυωτοῦ) καὶ τοῦ βαλσάμου· οὐ γὰρ ἔῴσι πολλαχοῦ φύεσθαι, τῇ δὲ σπάνει τιμὴν ἐπιτιθέντες τὴν πρόσδοδον οὕτως<sup>2</sup> αὖξουσιν, τὴν δὲ κοινὴν χρεῖαν διαλυμαίνονται.

16. Ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ τῆς Κανωβικῆς πύλης ἑξιόντι ἢ διωρύξ ἐστὶν ἢ ἐπὶ Κάνωβον συνάπτουσα τῇ λίμνῃ· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Σχεδιάν ὁ πλοῦς ἐπὶ τὸν μέγαν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον, πρῶτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλευσίνα· ἐστὶ δ' αὕτη κατοικία πλησίον τῆς τε Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ τῆς Νικοπόλεως ἐπ' αὐτῇ τῇ Κανωβικῇ διώρυγι κειμένη, διαίτας ἔχουσα καὶ ἀπόψεις τοῖς καπυρίζειν βουλομένοις καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξίν, ἀρχὴ τις Κανωβισμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ λαμυρίας. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἑλευσίνος προελθοῦσι μικρὸν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστὶν ἢ διωρύξ ἀνά-

<sup>1</sup> For ἐντρέχειαν, Cobet conj. κακεντρέχειαν, citing 7. 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup> ὁντως CDE<sup>h</sup>msx; αὐτοῖς, Corais.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the kind "devoted to sacred purposes." The superior of Holy Trinity of the 1870's and 1880's was Sister St. Elizabeth of the Holy Trinity and she was greatly loved. However, it was later said that Sister St. Elizabeth of Holy Trinity was "a little bit of a nut."

1. The first group of authors (e.g., Berman, 1984; Berman & O'Leary, 1985; Berman & O'Leary, 1986; Berman & O'Leary, 1987; Berman & O'Leary, 1988; Berman & O'Leary, 1989; Berman & O'Leary, 1990; Berman & O'Leary, 1991; Berman & O'Leary, 1992; Berman & O'Leary, 1993; Berman & O'Leary, 1994; Berman & O'Leary, 1995; Berman & O'Leary, 1996; Berman & O'Leary, 1997; Berman & O'Leary, 1998; Berman & O'Leary, 1999; Berman & O'Leary, 2000; Berman & O'Leary, 2001; Berman & O'Leary, 2002; Berman & O'Leary, 2003; Berman & O'Leary, 2004; Berman & O'Leary, 2005; Berman & O'Leary, 2006; Berman & O'Leary, 2007; Berman & O'Leary, 2008; Berman & O'Leary, 2009; Berman & O'Leary, 2010; Berman & O'Leary, 2011; Berman & O'Leary, 2012; Berman & O'Leary, 2013; Berman & O'Leary, 2014; Berman & O'Leary, 2015; Berman & O'Leary, 2016; Berman & O'Leary, 2017; Berman & O'Leary, 2018; Berman & O'Leary, 2019; Berman & O'Leary, 2020; Berman & O'Leary, 2021; Berman & O'Leary, 2022; Berman & O'Leary, 2023; Berman & O'Leary, 2024; Berman & O'Leary, 2025) have focused on the role of the leader in the process of organizational change. They argue that the leader is responsible for creating a vision for the future and for communicating this vision to the organization. They also argue that the leader is responsible for creating a supportive environment for change and for providing the resources needed for change to be successful.

Ptolemies there was no such monopoly and that Strabo's words, "some of those who wished to enhance the revenues, etc.," mean that "a number of large proprietors misused their power, and through limiting the cultivation to their own

being inferior, and the other superior, that is, the Hieratica.<sup>1</sup> And here, too, certain of those who wished to enhance the revenues adopted the shrewd practice of the Judaeans, which the latter had invented in the case of the palm tree (particularly the caryotic palm) and the balsam tree; for they do not allow the byblus to grow in many places, and because of the scarcity they set a higher price on it and thus increase the revenues, though they injure the common use of the plant.<sup>2</sup>

16. On the right of the Canobic Gate, as one goes out, one comes to the canal which is connected with the lake and leads to Canobus;<sup>3</sup> and it is by this canal that one sails, not only to Schedia, that is, to the great river, but also to Canobus, though first to Eleusis. Eleusis is a settlement near both Alexandria and Nicopolis, is situated on the Canobic canal itself, and has lodging-places and commanding views for those who wish to engage in revelry, both men and women, and is a beginning, as it were, of the "Canobic" life<sup>4</sup> and the shamelessness there current. On proceeding a slight distance from Eleusis, and on the right, one

advantage and to the injury of the public produced a rise in the price of papyrus," is vigorous

J. P. Mahaffy (*Hermathena*, 16, . . . . .)

rightly understands Strabo to refer

of the exchequer (*διοικησις*) who had to meet a sudden demand by raising money as best they could." However, in a later article (*Philologus* 74, N. F. 28, pp. 184-85) Zucker retracts his former interpretation of the passage, accepting Mahaffy's. See also . . . . . *Grundzüge* I, 1, pp. 255-56.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. . . . . by a short tributary south-west of the city.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the luxurious life at Canobus, which was proverbial.



γούσα ἐπὶ τὴν Σχεδίαν. διέχει δὲ τετράσχοινον τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ Σχεδία, κατοικία πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ναύσταθμον τῶν θαλαμηγῶν πλοίων, ἐφ' οἷς οἱ ἡγεμόνες εἰς τὴν ἄνω χώραν ἀναπλεύουσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸ τελώνιον τῶν ἄνωθεν καταγομένων καὶ ἀναγομένων· οὐ χάριν καὶ σχεδία ἔξευκται ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ τοῦνομα τῷ τόπῳ. μετὰ δὲ τὴν διώρυγα τὴν ἐπὶ Σχεδίαν ἄγουσαν ὁ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Κάνωβον πλοῦς ἐστὶ παράλληλος τῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ ἀπὸ Φάρου μέχρι τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ στόματος· στενὴ γάρ τις ταινία μεταξὺ διήκει τοῦ τε πελάγους καὶ τῆς διώρυγος, ἐν ᾗ ἐστὶν ἢ τε μικρὰ Ταπόσειρις μετὰ τὴν Νικόπολιν καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον, ἄκρα ναῦσκειν ἔχουσα Ἀρσινόης Ἀφροδίτης· τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν καὶ Θῶνιν τινα πόλιν ἐνταῦθά φασιν, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ δεξαμένου Μενελάου τε καὶ Ἑλένης ξενία. περὶ οὖν τῶν τῆς Ἑλένης φαρμάκων C 801 φησὶν οὕτως ὁ ποιητής·

ἐσθλά, τά οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνος παρά-  
κοιτις.

17. Κάνωβος δ' ἐστὶ πόλις ἐν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας πεζῇ ἰούσιν, ἐπώνυμος Κανώβου τοῦ Μενελάου κυβερνήτου, ἀποθανόντος αὐτόθι, ἔχουσα τὸ τοῦ Σαράπιδος ἱερὸν πολλῇ ἁγιστεῖα τιμώμενον καὶ θεραπείας ἐκφέρων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐλλογιμωτάτους ἄνδρας πιστεύειν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> See § 24 below.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "raft" or "pontoon bridge."

<sup>3</sup> Thonis was situated at the Canobic mouth of the Nile, and in early times was the emporium of Aegypt (Diodorus

comes to the canal which leads up to Schedia. Schedia is four schoeni<sup>1</sup> distant from Alexandria; it is a settlement of the city, and contains the station of the cabin-boats on which the praefects sail to Upper Aegypt. And at Schedia is also the station for paying duty on the goods brought down from above it and brought up from below it; and for this purpose, also, a schedia<sup>2</sup> has been laid across the river, from which the place has its name. After the canal which leads to Schedia, one's next voyage, to Canobus, is parallel to that part of the coast-line which extends from Pharos to the Canobic mouth; for a narrow ribbon-like strip of land extends between the sea and the canal, and on this, after Nicopolis, lies the Little Taposciris, as also the Zephyrium, a promontory which contains a shrine of Aphroditê Arsinoê. In ancient times, it is said, there was also a city called Thonis here,<sup>3</sup> which was named after the king who received Menelaüs and Helen with hospitality. At any rate, the poet speaks of Helen's drugs as follows: "goodly drugs which Polydamna, the wife of Thon, had given her."<sup>4</sup>

17. Canobus is a city situated at a distance of one hundred and twenty stadia from Alexandria, if one goes on foot, and was named after Canobus, the pilot of Menelaüs, who died there. It contains the temple of Sarapis, which is honoured with great reverence and effects such cures that even the most reputable men believe in it and sleep in it—them-

Siulus 1. 19); and King Thon was the warden of the Canobic mouth in the time of the Trojan war (Herodotus 1. 113).

<sup>4</sup> *Odyssey* 4. 228.

ἐγκοιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν ἢ ἐτέρους· συγγράφουσι δὲ τινες καὶ τὰς θεραπείας, ἄλλοι δὲ ἀρετὰς τῶν ἐνταῦθα λογίων.<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ πάντων δ' ἐστὶν ὁ τῶν πανηγυριστῶν ὄχλος τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας κατιόντων τῇ διώρυγι· πᾶσα γὰρ ἡμέρα καὶ πᾶσα νύξ πληθύνει τῶν μὲν<sup>2</sup> ἐν τοῖς πλοιαρίοις καταυλουμένων καὶ κατορχομένων ἀνέδην<sup>3</sup> μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀκολασίας, καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, τῶν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Κανώβῳ καταγωγὰς ἔχοντων, ἐπικειμένους τῇ διώρυγι εὐφυνεῖς πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἄνεσιν καὶ εὐωχίαν.

18. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Κανωβὸν ἐστὶ τὸ Ἡράκλειον<sup>4</sup> Ἡρακλέους ἔχον ἱερόν· εἴτα τὸ Κανωβικὸν στόμα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ Δέλτα. τὰ δ' ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς Κανωβικῆς διώρυγος ὁ Μενελαΐτης ἐστὶ νομὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ πρώτου Πτολεμαίου καλούμενος, οὐ μὰ Δία ἀπὸ<sup>5</sup> τοῦ ἥρωος, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, ὧν καὶ Ἀρτεμίδωρος. μετὰ δὲ τὸ Κανωβικὸν στόμα ἐστὶ τὸ Βολβίτινον, εἴτα τὸ Σεβεννυτικόν, καὶ τὸ Φατνυτικόν, τρίτον ὑπάρχον τῇ μεγέθει παρὰ τὰ πρῶτα δύο, οἷς ὥρισταὶ τὸ Δέλτα· καὶ γὰρ οὐ<sup>6</sup> πόρρω τῆς κορυφῆς σχίζεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τοῦ Δέλτα. τῇ δὲ Φατνυτικῇ συνάπτει τὸ Μενδήσιον, εἴτα τὸ Ταυντικόν καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ Πηλουσιακόν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτων μεταξὺ, ὡς ἂν ψευδοστόματα, ἀσημότερα· ἔχει μὲν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> ἀρεταλογίων CDFh, ἀρετολογίων x, τερατολογίων i.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν, Corais inserte.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνέδην h, and second hand in D; ἀναίδην other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> τό, after Ἡράκλειον Ee omit.

<sup>5</sup> ἀπό EF, ὑπό other MSS.

<sup>6</sup> οὐ F, οὐδέ other MSS.

selves on their own behalf or others for them.<sup>1</sup> Some writers go on to record the cures, and others the virtues of the oracles there. But to balance all this is the crowd of revellers who go down from Alexandria by the canal to the public festivals; for every day and every night is crowded with people on the boats who play the flute and dance without restraint and with extreme licentiousness, both men and women, and also with the people of Canobus itself, who have resorts situated close to the canal and adapted to relaxation and merry-making of this kind.

18. After Canobus one comes to the Heracleium, which contains a temple of Heracles; and then to the Canobic mouth and the beginning of the Delta. The parts on the right of the Canobic canal are the Menelaëte Nome, so called from the brother of the first Ptolemy<sup>2</sup>—not, by heaven, from the hero, as some writers say, among whom is also Artemidorus. After the Canobic mouth one comes to the Bolbitine mouth, and then to the Sebennytic, and to the Phatnitic, which is third in size as compared with the first two,<sup>3</sup> which form the boundaries of the Delta; for not far from the vertex of the Delta the Phatnitic splits, sending a branch into the interior of the Delta. Lying close to the Phatnitic mouth is the Mendesian; and then one comes to the Tanitic, and, last of all, to the Pelusiæ. There are also others in among these, pseudo-mouths as it were, which are rather insignificant. Their mouths

<sup>1</sup> Even Moses advocated this practice (16. 2. 35).

<sup>2</sup> On this Menelaüs see Diodorus Siculus (20. 21-53) and Plutarch (*Demetrius* 15-17).

<sup>3</sup> The Canobic and Pelusiæ.

εἰσαγωγὰς τὰ στόματα, ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐφυνεῖς οὐδὲ  
 μεγάλοις πλοίοις, ἀλλ' ὑπηρετικοῖς διὰ τὸ  
 βραχέα εἶναι καὶ ἐλώδη. μάλιστα μέντοι τῷ  
 Κανωβικῷ στόματι ἐχρῶντο ὡς ἐμπορίῳ, τῶν  
 κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν λιμένων ἀποκεκλειμένων,<sup>1</sup> ὡς  
 προείπομεν. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Βολβίτινον στόμα ἐπὶ  
 πλέον ἔκκειται ταπεινὴ καὶ ἀμμώδης ἄκρα·  
 καλεῖται δὲ Ἄγνου κέρα· εἴθ' ἡ Περσέως σκοπὴ  
 καὶ τὸ Μιλησίων τεῖχος· πλεύσαντες γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 Ψαμμιτίχου τριάκοντα ναυσὶ Μιλήσιοι (κατὰ  
 Κυαξάρη δ' οὗτος ἦν τὸν Μῆδον) κατέσχον εἰς τὸ  
 στόμα τὸ Βολβίτινον, εἴτ' ἐκβάντες ἐτείχισαν τὸ  
 λεχθὲν κτίσμα· χρόνῳ δ' ἀναπλεύσαντες εἰς τὸν  
 Σαῦτικὸν νομὸν καταναυμαχήσαντες Ἰνάρων πόλιν  
 C 802 ἔκτισαν Ναύκρατιν οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σχεδίας ὑπερθεν.  
 μετὰ δὲ τὸ τῶν Μιλησίων τεῖχος ἐπὶ τὸ Σεβεννυ-  
 τικὸν προΐοντι<sup>2</sup> στόμα λίμναι εἰσὶν, ὧν ἡ ἑτέρα  
 Βουτικὴ καλεῖται ἀπὸ Βούτου πόλεως, καὶ ἡ  
 Σεβεννυτικὴ δὲ πόλις καὶ ἡ Σαῖς, μητρόπολις τῆς  
 κάτω χώρας, ἐν ᾗ τιμῶσι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν· ἐν δὲ τῷ  
 ἱερῷ αὐτῆς ἡ θήκη κεῖται τοῦ Ψαμμιτίχου.  
 περὶ δὲ τὴν Βούτον καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ἐν νήσῳ  
 κειμένη· ἐν δὲ τῇ Βούτῳ Λητοῦς ἐστὶ μαντεῖον.

19. Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίῳ τῇ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Σεβεννυ-  
 τικοῦ καὶ Φατυντικοῦ στόματος Ξοῖς ἐστὶ καὶ  
 νῆσος καὶ πόλις ἐν τῷ Σεβεννυτικῷ νομῷ. ἔστι

<sup>1</sup> ἀποκεκλειμένων D, ἀποκεκλιμένων other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> προΐοντι B, προσιόντι other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> i. e. to foreign imports (§ 6 above).

<sup>2</sup> Meaning "Willow-Horn," apparently.

indeed afford entrance to boats, but are adapted, not to large boats, but to tenders only, because the mouths are shallow and marshy. It is chiefly, however, the Canobic mouth that they used as an emporium, since the harbours at Alexandria were kept closed,<sup>1</sup> as I have said before. After the Bolbitine mouth one comes to a low and sandy promontory which projects rather far into the sea; it is called Agnuceras.<sup>2</sup> And then to the Watch-tower of Perseus<sup>3</sup> and the Wall of the Milesians; for in the time of Psammitichus (who lived in the time of Cyaxares the Mede) the Milesians, with thirty ships, put in at the Bolbitine mouth, and then, disembarking, fortified with a wall the above-mentioned settlement; but in time they sailed up into the Saïtic Nome, defeated the city Inaros in a naval fight, and founded Naucratis, not far above Schedia. After the Wall of the Milesians, as one proceeds towards the Sebennyitic mouth, one comes to two lakes, one of which, Buticê, has its name from the city Butus, and also to the Sebennyitic city, and to Saïs, the metropolis of the lower country, in which Athena is worshipped; and in her temple lies the tomb of Psammitichus. In the neighbourhood of Butus is also an Hermupolis,<sup>4</sup> which is situated on an island; and in Butus there is an oracle of Leto.<sup>5</sup>

19. In the interior above the Sebennyitic and Phatnitic mouths lies Xoïs, both an island and a city, in the Sebennyitic Nome. Here, also, are an

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (2. 15) appears to place the watch-tower at the Canobic mouth.

<sup>2</sup> "City of Hermes."

<sup>3</sup> On Leto's shrine and oracle in Butus, see Herodotus 2. 155.

δὲ καὶ Ἑρμοῦ πόλις καὶ Λύκου πόλις καὶ Μένδης, ὅπου τὸν Πᾶνα τιμῶσι καὶ τῶν ζώων τράγον· ὡς δὲ Πίνδαρός φησιν, οἱ τράγοι ἐνταῦθα γυναιξὶ μίγνυνται·

Μένδητα παρὰ κρημνὸν θαλάσσης,  
ἔσχατον Νείλου κέρας, αἰγιβύται  
ὅθι τράγοι γυναιξὶ μίσγονται.<sup>1</sup>

πλησίον δὲ Μένδητος καὶ Διὸς πόλις καὶ αἱ περὶ αὐτὴν λίμναι καὶ Λεοντόπολις· εἴτ' ἀπωτέρω ἢ Βούσιρις πόλις ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ καὶ Κυινὸς πόλις. φησὶ δ' Ἑρατοσθένης κοινὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῖς βαρβάροις πᾶσιν ἔθος τὴν ξενηλασίαν, τοὺς δ' Αἰγυπτίους ἐλέγχεσθαι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Βούσιριν μεμυθευμένων ἐν τῷ Βουσιρίτῃ νομῷ, διαβάλλειν τὴν ἀξενίαν βουλομένων τοῦ τύπου τούτου τῶν ὕστερον, οὐ βασιλέως, μὰ Δία, οὐδὲ τυράννου γενομένου τινὸς Βουσίριδος· προσεπιφημισθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ

Αἰγυπτὸνδ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλήν τε,  
προσλαμβάνοντος πρὸς τοῦτο πάμπολυ καὶ τοῦ ἀλιμένου καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ τὸν ὄντα λιμένα ἀνείσθαι τὸν πρὸς τῇ Φάρῳ, φρουρεῖσθαι δ' ὑπὸ βουκόλων ληστῶν ἐπιτιθεμένων τοῖς προσορμιζομένοις· Καρχηδονίους δὲ καταποντοῦν, εἴ τις τῶν ξένων εἰς Σαρδὼν παραπλεύσειεν ἢ ἐπὶ Στήλας· διὰ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The words Μένδητα . . . μίσγονται are not found in HF. Kramer and later editors reject them.

<sup>1</sup> "City of Lycus." <sup>2</sup> *Frag.* 201 (215), Schroeder.

<sup>3</sup> So Herodotus (2. 46), who also says that "In the Aegyptian language both the he-goat and Pan are called 'Mendes,'"

Hermupolis and a Lycupolis,<sup>1</sup> and Mendes, at which place they worship Pan and, among animals, a he-goat; and, as Pindar<sup>2</sup> says, the he-goats have intercourse with women there:<sup>3</sup> "Mendes, along the crag of the sea, farthestmost horn of the Nile, where the goat-mounting he-goats have intercourse with women." Near Mendes lie also a Diospolis<sup>4</sup> and the lakes in its neighbourhood and Leontopolis;<sup>5</sup> and then, at a greater distance, the city Busiris in the Busirite Nome, and Cynopolis.<sup>6</sup> According to Eratosthenes, the expulsion of foreigners is a custom common to all barbarians, and yet the Egyptians are condemned for this fault because of the myths which have been circulated about Busiris in connection with the Busirite Nome,<sup>7</sup> since the later writers wish falsely to malign the inhospitality of this place, although, by heavens, no king or tyrant named Busiris ever existed; and, he says, the poet's words are also constantly cited—"to go to Egypt, long and painful journey"—the want of harbours contributing very much to this opinion, as also the fact that even the harbour which Egypt did have, the one at Pharos, gave no access, but was guarded by shepherds who were pirates and who attacked those who tried to bring ships to anchor there; and the Carthaginians likewise, he adds, used to drown in the sea any foreigners who sailed past their country to Sardo<sup>8</sup> or to the Pillars, and

<sup>1</sup> "City of Zeus."

<sup>2</sup> "Lion City."

<sup>3</sup> "Dog's City."

<sup>7</sup> The mythical king Busiris sacrificed all foreigners who entered Egypt, but at last was slain by Heracles (Apollodorus 2. 5. 11).

<sup>8</sup> Sardinia.



ταῦτ' ἀπιστεῖσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐσπερίων· καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας δὲ κακῶς ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς πρέσβεσι τὰς ὁδοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ διὰ δυσκόλων.

20. Συνάπτει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀθριβίτης νομὸς καὶ Ἀθριβις πόλις καὶ ἔτι ὁ Προσωπίτης νομὸς, ἐν ᾧ Ἀφροδίτης πόλις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ Μενδήσιον στόμα καὶ τὸ Τανιτικὸν λίμνη μεγάλη καὶ ὁ Μενδήσιός ἐστι νομὸς καὶ ὁ Λεοντοπολίτης καὶ πόλις Ἀφροδίτης καὶ ὁ Φαρβητίτης νομὸς· εἴτα τὸ Τανιτικὸν στόμα, ὃ τινες Σαῖτικὸν λέγουσι, καὶ ὁ Τανίτης νομὸς καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλη Τάνις.

21. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Τανιτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ λίμναι καὶ ἔλη μεγάλα καὶ συνεχὴ κώμας πολλὰς ἔχοντα· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Πηλούσιον κύκλῳ C 803 περικείμενα ἔχει ἔλη, ἃ τινες Βάραθρα καλοῦσι, καὶ τέλματα· ᾧκισται δ' ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐν πλείοσιν ἢ εἴκοσι σταδίοις, τὸν δὲ κύκλον ἔχει τοῦ τείχους σταδίων εἴκοσιν· ὠνόμασται δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ πηλοῦ καὶ τῶν τελμάτων. ταύτη δὲ καὶ δυσείσβολός ἐστιν ἢ Αἴγυπτος ἐκ τῶν ἐωθινῶν τόπων τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας δὲ τῆς Ναβαταίων, ἥπερ ἐστὶ προσεχής· διὰ τούτων ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ ὁδός. ἡ δὲ μεταξὺ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου Ἀραβία μὲν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐπὶ γε τῶν ἄκρων αὐτῆς ἱδρύται τὸ Πηλούσιον, ἀλλ' ἔρημος ἅπασά ἐστι καὶ ἄβατος στρατοπέδῳ. ὁ δὲ μεταξὺ ἰσθμὸς Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν χιλίων<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐστὶ σταδίων, ὥς δὲ Ποσειδώνιος

<sup>1</sup> χιλίων (as in 1. 2. 29 and Herodotus 2. 158, 4 11), Epitome and editors, for ἐννακοσίῳ.

it is for this reason that most of the stories told about the west are disbelieved; and also the Persians, he says, would treacherously guide the ambassadors over roundabout roads and through difficult regions.

20. Bordering on this Nome is the Athribite Nome and the city Athribis, and also the Prosopite Nome, in which is a City of Aphroditê. Above the Mendesian and Tanitic mouths lie a large lake and the Mendesian and Leontopolite Nomes and a City of Aphroditê and the Pharbetite Nome; and then one comes to the Tanitic mouth, which some call Saitic, and to the Tanite Nome, and to Tanis, a large city therein.

21. Between the Tanitic and Pelusiæ mouths lie lakes, and large and continuous marshes which contain many villages. Pelusium itself also has marshes lying all round it, which by some are called Barathra,<sup>1</sup> and muddy ponds; its settlement lies at a distance of more than twenty stadia from the sea, the wall has a circuit of twenty stadia, and it has its name from the *pelos*<sup>2</sup> and the muddy ponds. Here, too, Aegypt is difficult to enter, I mean from the eastern regions about Phœnicia and Judæa, and from the Arabia of the Nabataeans, which is next to Aegypt; these are the regions which the road to Aegypt traverses. The country between the Nile and the Arabian Gulf is Arabia, and at its extremity is situated Pelusium; but the whole of it is desert, and impassable for an army. The isthmus between Pelusium and the recess of the gulf at Heroönpolis<sup>3</sup> is one thousand stadia, but, according to Poseidonius, less than one thousand

<sup>1</sup> "Pits."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* "mud."

<sup>3</sup> "City of Heroes."

φησιν, ἐλαττόνων ἢ χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων· πρὸς δὲ τῷ ἄνδρῳ εἶναι καὶ ἡμῶδης ἑρπετῶν πλήθος ἔχει τῶν ἡμμοδυτῶν.

22. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σχεδίας ἀναπλέουσιν ἐπὶ Μέμφιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν εἰσι πάμπολλαι κῶμαι μέχρι τῆς Μαρείας<sup>1</sup> λίμνης, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Χαβρίου κώμη καλουμένη· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ποταμῷ Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ἐστίν· εἴτα Γυναικῶν πόλις καὶ νομὸς Γυναικοπολίτης· ἐφεξῆς δὲ Μώμεμφις καὶ Μωμεμφίτης νομός· μεταξὺ δὲ διώρυγες πλείους εἰς τὴν Μαρεῶτιν. οἱ δὲ Μωμεμφῖται τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τιμῶσι, καὶ τρέφεται θήλεια βοῦς ἱερὰ, καθάπερ ἐν Μέμφει ὁ Ἄπις, ἐν Ἡλίου δὲ πόλει ὁ Μνεῦις· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν θεοὶ νομίζονται, οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις (παρὰ πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ ἐν τε τῷ Δέλτα καὶ ἔξω αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν ἄρρην, τοῖς δὲ θήλεια τρέφεται), οὗτοι δὲ θεοὶ μὲν οὐ νομίζονται, ἱεροὶ δέ.

23. Ὑπὲρ δὲ Μωμέμφεως εἰσι δύο νιτρίαι πλείστον νίτρον ἔχουσαι καὶ νομὸς Νιτριώτης. τιμᾶται δ' ἐνταῦθα ὁ Σάραπις καὶ παρὰ μόνοις τούτοις θύεται ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πρόβατον· πλησίον δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα πόλις Μενέλαος, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ποταμῷ Ναύκρατις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ δίσχοινον διέχουσα ἢ Σαῖς· καὶ μικρὸν ταύτης ὑπερθε τὸ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἄσυλον, ἐν ᾧ κεῖσθαι τὸν Ὀσιρίν φασιν. ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ τούτου πολλοί, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τὰς Φιλὰς οἰκοῦντες τὰς ὑπὲρ Σύνης

<sup>1</sup> Μαρίας Β, Σαμαρίας Δη, Σαμαρίας ΟΓ, Μαρίας μοιωαα.

<sup>1</sup> "City of Women."

<sup>2</sup> "City of the Sun."

five hundred; and in addition to its being waterless and sandy, it contains a multitude of reptiles, the sand-burrowers.

22. From Schedia, as one sails towards Memphis, there are, on the right, a very large number of villages, extending as far as Lake Marcia, among which is the Village of Chabrias, as it is called; and, on the river, one comes to an Hermupolis, and then to Gynaeconpolis<sup>1</sup> and the Gynaeconpolite Nome, and, next in order, to Momemphis and the Momemphite Nome; but in the interval there are several canals which empty into Lake Mareotis. The Momemphitae honour Aphroditê; and a sacred cow is kept there, as is Apis in Memphis and Mneuïs in Heliopolis.<sup>2</sup> Now these animals are regarded as gods, but those in the other places (for in many places, indeed, both in the Delta and outside of it, either a bull or cow is kept)—those others, I say, are not regarded as gods, though they are held sacred.

23. Above Momemphis are two nitre-beds, which contain very large quantities of nitre,<sup>3</sup> and the Nitriote Nome. Here Sarapis is held in honour; and they are the only people in Aegypt who sacrifice a sheep. Near by, and in this Nome, is a city Menelaüs; and on the left, in the Delta, lies Naucratis, which is on the river, whereas Sais lies at a distance of two schoeni from the river. A little above Sais is the asylum of Osiris, in which the body of Osiris is said to lie; but many lay claim to this, and particularly the inhabitants of the Philae which

<sup>3</sup> The ancients meant by "nitre" native sodium carbonate, not potassium nitrate (saltpetre), the present meaning. Pliny (31. 6) mentions the various kinds and their uses.

και τῆς Ἑλεφαντίνης. μυθεύουσι γὰρ δὴ, διότι ἡ Ἴσις κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους κατὰ γῆς θέλη σοροὺς τοῦ Ὀσίριδος (μία δὲ τούτων ἦν ἔχουσα τὸν Ὀσιριν, ἀφανῆς πᾶσι), τοῦτο δὲ πράξειε λαθεῖν βουλομένη τὸν Τυφῶνα, μὴ ἐπελθὼν ἐκρίψει τὸ σῶμα τῆς θήκης.

C 804 24. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Δέλτα κορυφὴν αὕτη ἡ περιήγησις, φησὶ δ' ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος σχοίνων ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι τὸν ἀνά-  
πλουν, τοῦτο δ' εἶναι σταδίους ὀκτακοσίους τετταράκοντα, λογιζόμενος τριακονταστάδιον τὴν σχοῖνον ἡμῖν μέντοι πλέουσιν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλω μέτρῳ χρώμενοι τῶν σχοίνων ἀπεδίδοσαν τὰ διαστήματα, ὥστε καὶ τετταράκοντα σταδίους καὶ ἔτι μείζους κατὰ τόπους ὁμολογεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν. καὶ διότι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἄστατόν ἐστι τὸ τῆς σχοίνου μέτρον, αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς δηλοῖ. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ Μέμφεως μέχρι Θηβαΐδος τὴν σχοῖνον ἐκάστην φησὶν εἶναι σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Θηβαΐδος μέχρι Συήνης ἐξήκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ Πηλουσίου πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναπλέουσι κορυφὴν σχοίνους μὲν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσί φησι, σταδίους δὲ ἑπτακοσίους πεντήκοντα, τῷ αὐτῷ μέτρῳ χρησάμενος. πρώτην δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου προελθοῦσιν εἶναι διώρυγα τὴν πληροῦσαν τὰς κατὰ τὰ ἔλη καλουμένας λίμνας, αἱ δύο μὲν εἰσιν, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ κεῖνται τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ· καὶ ἄλλας δὲ λέγει λίμνας καὶ διώρυγας

<sup>1</sup> So Diodorus Siculus (I. 22. 3).

is situated above Syenê and Elephantinê;<sup>1</sup> for they tell the mythical story, namely, that Isis<sup>2</sup> placed coffins of Osiris beneath the earth in several places (but only one of them, and that unknown to all, contained the body of Osiris), and that she did this because she wished to hide the body from Typhon,<sup>3</sup> fearing that he might find it and cast it out of its tomb.

24. Now this is the full description of the country from Alexandria to the vertex of the Delta; and, according to Artemidorus, the voyage up the river is twenty-eight schoeni, that is, eight hundred and forty stadia, reckoning the schoenus at thirty stadia. When I made the voyage, however, they used different measures at different times when they gave the distances, so that even forty stadia, or still more, was the accepted measure of the schoenus, according to the place. That the measure of the schoenus among the Aegyptians is unstable is made clear by Artemidorus himself in his next statement; for from Memphis to Thebais each schoenus, he says, is one hundred and twenty stadia, and from Thebais to Syenê sixty, and, as one sails up from Pelusium to the same vertex of the Delta, the distance, he says, is twenty-five schoeni, that is, seven hundred and fifty stadia, using the same measure. The first canal, as one proceeds from Pelusium, he says, is the one which fills the Marsh-lakes, as they are called, which are two in number and lie on the left of the great river above Pelusium in Arabia; and he also speaks of

<sup>1</sup> This goddess was both sister and wife of Osiris.

<sup>2</sup> Typhon came to be identified with the Aegyptian god "Set" (brother of Osiris and Isis), who murdered Osiris.

# STRABO

ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέρεσιν ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νομὸς Σεθρωΐτης παρὰ τὴν ἐτέραν λίμνην· ἕνα δὲ τῶν δέκα τῶν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα διαριθμεῖται καὶ τοῦτον· εἰς δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς <sup>1</sup> λίμνας συμβάλλουσι καὶ ἄλλαι δύο διώρυγες.

25. Ἄλλη δ' ἐστὶν ἐκδιδοῦσα εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καὶ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον κατὰ <sup>2</sup> πόλιν Ἀρσινόην, ἣν ἔνιοι Κλεοπατρίδα καλοῦσι. διαρρεῖ δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν πικρῶν καλουμένων λιμνῶν, αἱ πρότερον μὲν ἦσαν πικραί, τμηθείσης δὲ τῆς διώρυγος τῆς λεχθείσης μετεβύλοντο <sup>3</sup> τῇ κράσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ νῦν εἰσιν εὖοψοι, μεστὰι δὲ καὶ τῶν λιμναίων ὀρνέων. ἐτμήθη δὲ <sup>4</sup> ἡ διώρυξ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Σεσώστριος πρὸ τῶν Ἰρωικῶν· οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμιτίχου παιδός, ἀρξαμένου μόνον, εἴτ' ἐκλιπόντος τὸν βίον· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ πρώτου, διαδεξαμένου τὸ ἐξῆς ἔργον. καὶ οὗτος δὲ δόξη ψευδεῖ πεισθεὶς ἀφῆκε τὸ ἔργον περὶ συντέλειαν ἤδη· ἐπέισθη γὰρ μετεωροτέραν εἶναι τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν τῆς Αἰγύπτου καί, εἰ διακοπείη πᾶς ὁ μεταξὺ ἰσθμός, ἐπικλυσθήσεσθαι τῇ θαλάττῃ τὴν Αἴγυπτον· οἱ μέντοι Πτολεμαῖκοι βασιλεῖς διακόψαντες κλειστὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν εὖριπον, ὥστε, ὅτε βούλονται, ἐκπλεῖν ἀκωλύτως εἰς τὴν ἔξω θάλατταν καὶ εἰσπλεῖν πάλιν. εἴρηται

<sup>1</sup> τὰς αὐτὰς Groskurd, for ταύτας τὰς ἑα, τοσαύτας other MSS. So Kramer and later editors.

<sup>2</sup> 'The editors,

<sup>3</sup> for μετεβάλλοντο.

<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The others are named in §§ 18-20 above. Pliny (5. 9) names still more.

other lakes and canals in the same regions outside the Delta. There is also the Sethroïte Nome by the second lake, although he counts this Nome too as one of the ten<sup>1</sup> in the Delta; and two other canals meet in the same lakes.

25. There is another canal which empties into the Red Sea and the Arabian Gulf near the city Arsinoë, a city which some call Cleopatris. It flows also through the Bitter Lakes, as they are called, which were indeed bitter in earlier times, but when the above-mentioned canal was cut they underwent a change because of the mixing with the river, and now are well supplied with fish and full also of aquatic birds. The canal was first cut by Sesostris before the Trojan War—though some say by the son of Psammitichus,<sup>2</sup> who only began the work and then died—and later by Dareius the First,<sup>3</sup> who succeeded to the next work done upon it. But he, too, having been persuaded by a false notion, abandoned the work when it was already near completion; for he was persuaded that the Red Sea was higher than Aegypt, and that if the intervening isthmus were cut all the way through, Aegypt would be inundated by the sea. The Ptolemaic kings,<sup>4</sup> however, cut through it and made the strait a closed passage,<sup>5</sup> so that when they wished they could sail out without hindrance into the outer sea and sail in again. But I have

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* by Necos (Diodorus Siculus 1. 33. 9), or Necho, who lost 120,000 men in the effort (Herodotus 2. 158).

<sup>2</sup> So Diodorus Siculus (1. 33. 9).

<sup>4</sup> "Ptolemy II" (Diodorus Siculus 1. 33. 11).

<sup>5</sup> "At the most advantageous place he built a cleverly contrived barrier" (Diodorus Siculus 1. 33. 11).



δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπιφανείας καὶ ἐν τοῖς  
πρώτοις ὑπομνήμασι.

26. Πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἱρώων  
ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρίς ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ  
C 805 Ἀραβίου κόλπου τῷ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λιμένες καὶ  
κατοικίαι διώρυγές τε<sup>1</sup> πλείους καὶ λίμναι πλησιάζουσαι  
τούτοις· ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ Φαγρωριό-  
πολίτης νομὸς καὶ πόλις Φαγρωριόπολις. ἡ δὲ  
ἀρχὴ τῆς διώρυγος τῆς ἐκδιδούσης εἰς τὴν Ἰερυθρὰν  
ἀπὸ κώμης ἄρχεται Φακούσσης, ἣ συνεχὴς ἐστὶ καὶ  
ἡ Φίλωνος κώμη· πλάτος δ' ἔχει πηχῶν ἑκατὸν ἢ  
διώρυξ, βάθος δ' ὅσον ἀρκεῖν μυριαφύρῳ νηὶ· οὗτοι  
δ' οἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσι τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ Δέλτα.

27. Αὐτοῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ Βούβαστος πόλις καὶ ὁ  
Βουβαστίτης νομὸς· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰλιο-  
πολίτης νομὸς. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἰλίου  
πόλις ἐπὶ χώματος ἀξιολόγου κειμένη, τὸ ἱερὸν  
ἔχουσα τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ τὸν βοῦν τὸν Μνεῦιν ἐν  
σηκῷ τινι τρεφόμενον, ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς νενόμεσται  
θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν Μέμφει ὁ Ἄπις. πρόκεινται  
δὲ τοῦ χώματος λίμναι, τὴν ἀνάχυσιν ἐκ τῆς  
πλησίον διώρυγος ἔχουσαι. νυνὶ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ  
πανέρημος ἡ πόλις, τὸ ἱερὸν ἔχουσα τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ  
τρόπῳ κατεσκευασμένον ἀρχαῖον, ἔχον πολλὰ  
τεκμήρια τῆς Καμβύσουμανίας καὶ ἱεροσυλίας,  
ὃς τὰ μὲν πυρὶ, τὰ δὲ σιδήρῳ διελωβάτο τῶν  
ἱερῶν, ἀκρωτηριάζων καὶ περικαίων, καθάπερ καὶ  
τοὺς ὀβελίσκους· ὧν δύο καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην ἐκο-  
μίσθησαν οἱ μὴ κεκακωμένοι τελέως, ἄλλοι δ' εἰς  
κάκει καὶ ἐν Θήβαις, τῇ νῦν Διοσπόλει, οἱ μὲν  
ἐστῶτες ἀκμὴν πυρίβρωτοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ κείμενοι.

<sup>1</sup> τε, Corais, for δέ; so the later editors.

already discussed the levels of the bodies of water in my first commentaries.<sup>1</sup>

26. Near Arsinoë one comes also to Heroöpolis and Cleopatris, in the recess of the Arabian Gulf towards Aegypt, and to harbours and settlements, and near there, to several canals and lakes. Here, too, is the Phagroriopolite Nome and the city Phagroriopolis. The canal which empties into the Red Sea begins at Phacussa, a village, to which the Village of Philo is contiguous; the canal has a breadth of one hundred cubits and a depth sufficient for very large merchant-vessels; and these places are near the vertex of the Delta.

27. Here are both the city Bubastus and the Bubastite Nome; and above it is the Heliopolite Nome. In this Nome is Heliupolis, which is situated upon a noteworthy mound; it contains the temple of Helios, and the ox Mneuis, which is kept in a kind of sanctuary and is regarded among the inhabitants as god, as is Apis in Memphis. In front of the mound are lakes, which receive the overflow from the neighbouring canal. The city is now entirely deserted; it contains the ancient temple constructed in the Aegyptian manner, which affords many evidences of the madness and sacrilege of Cambyzes, who partly by fire and partly by iron sought to outrage the temples, mutilating them and burning them on every side, just as he did with the obelisks. Two of these, which were not completely spoiled, were brought to Rome, but others are either still there or at Thebes, the present Diospolis—some still standing, thoroughly eaten by the fire, and others lying on the ground.

<sup>1</sup> 1. 1. 20 and 1. 3. 8 ff.

28. Τῆς δὲ κατασκευῆς τῶν ἱερῶν ἡ διῆσεις τοιαύτη· κατὰ τὴν εἰσβολὴν τὴν εἰς τὸ τέμενος λιθόστρωτόν ἐστιν ἔδαφος, πλάτος μὲν ὅσον πλεθριαῖον ἢ καὶ ἑλαττον, μῆκος δὲ καὶ τριπλάσιον καὶ τετραπλάσιον, ἐστὶν ὅπου καὶ μεῖζον· καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο δρόμος, καθάπερ Καλλίμαχος<sup>ο</sup> εἴρηκεν·

ὁ δρόμος ἱερὸς οὗτος Ἀνούβιδος.

διὰ δὲ τοῦ μήκους παντὸς ἐξῆς ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τοῦ πλάτους σφίγγες ἵδρυνται λίθιναι, πῆχει εἴκοσιν ἢ μικρῷ πλείους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων διέχουσαι, ὥσθ' ἓνα μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν εἶναι στίχον τῶν σφιγγῶν, ἓνα δ' ἐξ εὐωνύμων· μετὰ δὲ τὰς σφίγγας πρόπυλον μέγα, εἴτ' ἄλλο προελθόντι πρόπυλον, εἴτ' ἄλλο· οὐκ ἐστὶ δὲ διωρισμένος ἀριθμὸς οὔτε τῶν προπύλων οὔτε τῶν σφιγγῶν, ἀλλὰ δ' ἐν ἄλλοις ἱεροῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ μῆκη καὶ τὰ πλάτη τῶν δρόμων. μετὰ δὲ τὰ προπύλαια ὁ νεὸς πρόναος ἔχων μέγα καὶ ἀξιόλογον, τὸν δὲ σηκὸν σύμμετρον, ξόανον δ' οὐδέν, ἢ οὐκ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός· τοῦ δὲ προνάου παρ' ἐκάτερον πρόκειται τὰ λεγόμενα<sup>1</sup> πτερὰ· ἐστὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἰσουψῇ τῷ νεῷ τείχῃ δύο, κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀφεστῶτα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μικρόν<sup>2</sup> πλέον ἢ τὸ πλάτος ἐστὶ τῆς κρηπίδος τοῦ νεῷ, ἔπειτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν προΐοντι κατ' ἐπινευούσας<sup>3</sup> γραμ-

<sup>1</sup> Instead of λεγόμενα C reads μεγάλα.

<sup>2</sup> μικρῷ Dz.

ἐπινευούσας, Corais and Groskurd emend to ἀπονευούσας.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo means the Egyptian temples in general.

<sup>2</sup> A sketch of the plan may be found in Tozer's *Selections*, p. 356; but cp. the sketch of the pronaos in the Corais-Latronne edition.

28. The plan of the construction of the temples<sup>1</sup> is as follows:<sup>2</sup> at the entrance into the sacred precinct there is a floor paved with stones, with a breadth of about a plethrum, or less, and a length either three or four times as great, or in some cases more; and this is called the dromus,<sup>3</sup> as Callimachus states: "This is the dromus, sacred to Anubis."<sup>4</sup> Throughout its whole length are stone sphinxes placed in order on each of its two sides, at a distance from one another of twenty cubits or a little more, so that one row of the sphinxes is on the right and one row on the left. And after the sphinxes one comes to a large propylum,<sup>5</sup> and then, as one proceeds, another, and then another; but there is no prescribed number either of propyla or of sphinxes, and they are different in different temples, as are also the lengths and the breadths of the dromi. After the propylaea one comes to the naos,<sup>6</sup> which has a large and noteworthy pronaos,<sup>7</sup> and to a sanctuary of commensurate size, though it has no statue, or rather no statue of human form, but only of some irrational animal. On either side of the pronaos project the wings, as they are called. These are two walls equal in height to the naos, which are at first distant from one another a little more than the breadth of the foundation of the naos, and then, as one proceeds onward, follow

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "course" or "run."

<sup>4</sup> The Aegyptian Anpu, worshipped as "Lord of the Grave."

<sup>5</sup> Literally, "Front Gate." . . . . .  
Acropolis at Athens, the . . . . . temple.

μὰς μέχρι πηχῶν πεντήκοντα ἢ ἐξήκοντα· ἀναγλυφὰς δ' ἔχουσιν οἱ τοῖχοι οὗτοι μεγάλων εἰδῶλων, ὁμοίων τοῖς Τυρρητικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις σφόδρα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι δημιουργημάτων. ἔστι δέ τις καὶ πολύστυλος οἶκος, καθάπερ ἐν Μέμφει, βαρβαρικὴν ἔχων τὴν κατασκευήν· πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ μεγάλων εἶναι καὶ πολλῶν καὶ πολυστίχων τῶν στύλων<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲν ἔχει χαρίεν οὐδὲ γραφικόν, ἀλλὰ ματαιοπονίαν ἐμφαίνει μᾶλλον.

29. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἠλίου πύλει καὶ οἴκους εἶδομεν μεγάλους, ἐν οἷς διέτριβον οἱ ἱερεῖς· μάλιστα γὰρ δὴ ταύτην κατοικίαν ἱερέων γεγενῆσθαι φασὶ τὸ πειλαιόν, φιλοσόφων ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀστρονομικῶν· ἐκλέλοιπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο νυνὶ τὸ σύστημα καὶ ἡ ἄσκησις. ἐκεῖ μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἐδείκνυτο τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσκήσεως προεστώς, ἀλλ' οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ μόνον καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τοῖς ξένοις τῶν περὶ τὰ ἱερά. παρηκολούθει δὲ τις ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἀναπλέοντι εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον Δίλιφ Γάλλω τῷ ἡγεμόνι Χαιρήμων τοῦνομα, ἐπιστήμην, γελώμε· καὶ ἰδιώτης. ἐκεῖ δ' οὖν ἐδείκνυντο οἳ τε τῶν ἱερέων οἶκοι καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ Εὐδόξου διατριβαί· συνανέβη γὰρ δὴ τῷ Πλάτωνα ὁ Εὐδόξος δεῦρο καὶ συνδιέτριψαν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐνταῦθα ἐκεῖνοι τρισκαίδεκα ἔτη, ὡς εἴρηται τισι· περιττοὺς γὰρ ὄντας κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην τῶν οὐρανίων, μυστι-

<sup>1</sup> *moz* change all these genitives to accusatives; so Corais.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* in the Etruscan tombs.

<sup>2</sup> Hardly Ohaeremon the Alexandrian philosopher and historian, as some think. Aelius Gallus made the voyage

converging lines as far as fifty or sixty cubits; and these walls have figures of large images cut in low relief, like the Tyrrhenian<sup>1</sup> images and the very old works of art among the Greeks. There is also a kind of hall with numerous columns (as at Memphis, for example), which is constructed in the barbaric manner; for, except for the fact that the columns are large and numerous and form many rows, the hall has nothing pleasing or picturesque, but is rather a display of vain toil.

29. In Heliopolis I also saw large houses in which the priests lived; for it is said that this place in particular was in ancient times a settlement of priests who studied philosophy and astronomy; but both this . . . its pursuits have now disappeared. . . in fact, no one was pointed out to me as presiding over such pursuits, but only those who performed the sacrifices and explained to strangers what pertained to the sacred rites. When Aelius Gallus the praefect sailed up into Aegypt, he was accompanied by a certain man from Alexandria, Chaeremon<sup>2</sup> by name, who pretended to some knowledge of this kind, but was generally ridiculed as a boaster and ignoramus. However, at Heliopolis the houses of the priests and schools of Plato and Eudoxus were pointed out to us; for Eudoxus went up to that place with Plato, and they both passed thirteen years<sup>3</sup> with the priests, as is stated by some writers; for since these priests excelled in their knowledge of the heavenly bodies,

about 25 B.C., but that Chaeremon was a tutor of Nero after A.D. 49.

<sup>3</sup> The *Epitome* reads "three years," and Diogenes Laertius (8. 87) "sixteen months."

κοὺς δὲ καὶ δυσμεταδότους, τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ταῖς  
 θεραπαίαις ἐξελιπύρησαν, ὥστε τινὰ τῶν θεωρη-  
 μάτων ἱστορήσαι· τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἀπεκρύψαντο οἱ  
 βάρβαροι. οὗτοι δὲ τὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα τῆς ἡμέρας  
 καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς μόρια ταῖς τριακοσίαις ἐξήκοντα  
 πέντε ἡμέραις εἰς τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ἐνιαυσίου  
 χρόνου παρέδωσαν. ἀλλ' ἡγοεῖτο τέως ὁ ἐνιαυ-  
 τὸς παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ὡς καὶ ἄλλα πλείω,  
 ἕως οἱ νεώτεροι ἀστρολόγοι παρέλαβον παρὰ  
 τῶν μεθερμηνευσάντων εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τὰ τῶν  
 ἱερέων ὑπομνήματα· καὶ ἔτι νῦν παραλαμβάνου-  
 σι τὰ ἀπ' ἐκείνων, ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ τῶν Χαλδαίων.

30. Ἐντεῦθεν δὴ<sup>1</sup> ὁ Νεῖλός ἐστιν ὁ ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 Δέλτα· τούτου δὴ τὰ μὲν δεξιὰ καλοῦσι Λιβύην  
 ἀναπλέοντι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-  
 δρειαν καὶ τὴν Μαρεῶτιν, τὰ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ  
 Ἀραβίαν. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ἡλίου πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ  
 ἐστίν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Κερκέσουρα πόλις κατὰ  
 C 807 τὰς Εὐδόξου κειμένη σκοπᾶς· δείκνυται γὰρ  
 σκοπὴ τις πρὸ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως, καθάπερ καὶ  
 πρὸ τῆς Κυίδου, πρὸς ἣν ἐσημειοῦτο ἐκεῖνος τῶν  
 οὐρανίων τινὰς κινήσεις· ὁ δὲ νομὸς Λητοπολίτης  
 οὗτος. ἀναπλεύσαντι δ' ἐστὶ Βαβυλῶν, φρούριον  
 ἐρυμνόν, ἀποστάντων ἐνταῦθα Βαβυλωνίων τινῶν,

<sup>1</sup> Instead of δὴ, D<sup>h</sup> read εἰ

<sup>2</sup> As stated in § 46 (below), they divided the year into twelve months of thirty days each, and at the end of the

albeit secretive and slow to impart it, Plato and Eudoxus prevailed upon them in time and by courting their favour to let them learn some of the principles of their doctrines; but the barbarians concealed most things. However, these men did teach them the fractions of the day and the night which, running over and above the three hundred and sixty-five days, fill out the time of the true year.<sup>1</sup> But at that time the true year was unknown among the Greeks, as also many other things, until the later astrologers learned them from the men who had translated into Greek the records of the priests; and even to this day they learn their teachings, and likewise those of the Chaldaeans.

30. From Heliopolis, then, one comes to the Nile above the Delta. Of this, the parts on the right, as one sails up, are called Libya, as also the parts round Alexandria and Lake Mareotis, whereas those on the left are called Arabia. Now Heliopolis is in Arabia, but the city Cercesura, which lies near the observatories of Eudoxus, is in Libya; for a kind of watch-tower is to be seen in front of Heliopolis, as also in front of Cnidus, with reference to which Eudoxus would note down his observations of certain movements of the heavenly bodies. Here the Nome is the Letopolite. And, having sailed farther up the river, one comes to Babylon, a stronghold, where some Babylonians had withdrawn in revolt and then successfully negotiated for permission

twelve months added five days (so Herodotus 2. 4), and then at the end of every fourth year added another day. Diodorus Siculus (1. 50), however, puts it thus: "They add five and one-fourth days to the twelve months and in this way complete the annual period."



εἶτα διαπραξαμένων ἐνταῦθα κατοικίαν παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων· νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ στρατόπεδον ἐνὸς τῶν τριῶν ταγμάτων τῶν φρουρούντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ῥάχης δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ μέχρι Νείλου καθήκουσα, δι' ἧς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τροχοὶ καὶ κοχλῖαι τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνάγουσιν, ἀνδρῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἐργαζομένων δεσμίων· ἀφ' ὁρῶνται δ' ἐνθένδε τηλαυγῶς αἱ πυραμίδες ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ ἐν Μέμφει καὶ εἰσι πλησίον.

31. Ἐγγὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις αὐτῇ, τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· ἐστὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δέλτα τρίςχοι-  
νον εἰς αὐτήν. ἔχει δὲ ἱερά, τό τε τοῦ Ἑπίδου,  
ὃς ἐστὶν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ Ὀσιρις, ὅπου ὁ βοῦς ὁ  
Ἑπίς ἐν σηκῷ τιμὴν τρέφεται, θεός, ὡς ἔφην,  
νομιζόμενος, διάλευκος τὸ μέτωπον καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ  
μικρὰ τοῦ σώματος, τὰλλα δὲ μέλας· οἷς ση-  
μείοις αἰετὶ κρίνουσι τὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν δια-  
δοχήν, ἀπογενομένου τοῦ τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοντος.  
ἐστὶ δ' αὐλὴ προκειμένη τοῦ σηκοῦ, ἐν ᾗ καὶ  
ἄλλος σηκὸς τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ βοός· εἰς ταύτην  
δὲ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐξαφίᾳσι τὸν Ἑπιν καθ' ὥραν τινά,  
καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τοῖς ξένοις· ὁρῶσι  
μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ θυρίδος ἐν τῷ σηκῷ, βούλονται  
δὲ καὶ ἔξω ἀποσκιρτήσαντα δ' ἐν αὐτῇ μικρὰ  
ἀναλαμβάνουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν στάσιν.

<sup>1</sup> Strabo's statement is too concise to be clear. He refers to certain . . . . . able to endure the hard . . . . . , revolted from the king, . . . . . ver, and gained the conce . . . . . war (Diodorus Siculus, 1. 56. 3).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. to Babylon.

<sup>3</sup> The pyramids of Gizeh, described by Herodotus (2. 124 ff.) and Pliny (36. 16).

from the kings to build a settlement;<sup>1</sup> but now it is an encampment of one of the three legions that guard Aegypt. There is a ridge extending from the encampment even as far as the Nile, on which the water is conducted up from the river<sup>2</sup> by wheels and screws; and one hundred and fifty prisoners are employed in the work; and from here one can clearly see the pyramids<sup>3</sup> on the far side of the river at Memphis, and they are near to it.<sup>4</sup>

31. Memphis itself, the royal residence of the Egyptians, is also near Babylon; for the distance to it from the Delta is only three schoeni.<sup>5</sup> It contains temples, one of which is that of Apis, who is the same as Osiris; it is here that the bull Apis is kept in a kind of sanctuary, being regarded, as I have said, as god; his forehead and certain other small parts of his body are marked with white, but the other parts are black;<sup>6</sup> and it is by these marks that they always choose the bull suitable for the succession, when the one that holds the honour has died. In front of the sanctuary is situated a court, in which there is another sanctuary belonging to the bull's mother. Into this court they set Apis loose at a certain hour, particularly that he may be shown to foreigners; for although people can see him through the window in the sanctuary, they wish to see him outside also; but when he has finished a short bout of skipping in the court they take him back again to his familiar stall.

<sup>1</sup> According to Pliny (36. 16) the pyramids were seven and one-half miles (i.e. sixty stadia) from Memphis.

<sup>2</sup> On the "schoenus," see 17. I. 24.

<sup>6</sup> "He is black, and has on his forehead a triangular white spot and on his back the likeness of an eagle" (Herodotus 3. 28). Pliny (8. 71) says, "a crescent-like white spot on the right side."

Τό τε δὴ τοῦ Ἀπιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν, παρακείμενον τῷ Ἡφαιστείῳ, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ Ἰηφαίστειον πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένον ναοῦ τε μεγέθει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. πρόκειται δ' ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ καὶ μοιόλιθος κολοσσός· ἔθος δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ τούτῳ ταύρων ἀγῶνας συντελεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὗς ἐπίτηδες τρέφουσί τινες, ὥσπερ οἱ ἵπποτρόφοι· συμβάλλουσι γὰρ εἰς μάχην ἀφέντες, ὃ δὲ κρείττων νομισθεὶς ἄλλου τυγχάνει. ἔστι δ' ἐν Μέμφει καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν, θεᾶς Ἑλληνίδος νομιζομένης· τινὲς δὲ Σελήνης<sup>1</sup> ἱερόν εἶναί φασιν.

32. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Σαράπιον ἐν ἀμμώδει τόπῳ σφόδρα, ὥσθ' ὑπ' ἀνέμων θύρας ἤμμων σωρεύεσθαι, ὑφ' ὧν αἱ σφίγγες αἱ μὲν καὶ μέχρι κεφαλῆς ἐωρῶντο ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατακεχωσμένοι, αἱ δ' ἡμιφανεῖς· ἐξ ὧν εἰκάζειν παρὴν τὸν κίνδυνον, εἰ τῷ βαδίζοντι πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν λαῖλαψ ἐπιπέσοι. πόλις δ' ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐαυδρὸς,<sup>2</sup> δευτέρα μετὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, μιγάδων ἀνδρῶν, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ συνφικισμένων. πρόκεινται δὲ καὶ λίμναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν βασιλείων, αἱ νῦν μὲν κατέσπασται καὶ ἐστὶν ἔρημα, ἵδρυται δ' ἐφ' ὕψους καθήκοντα μέχρι τοῦ κάτω τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφους· συνάπτει δ' ἄλσος αὐτῷ καὶ λίμνη.

33. Τετταράκοντα δ' ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σταδίου

<sup>1</sup> For Σελήνης, Noll conj. Ἑλένης, citing Herod. 2. 112.

<sup>2</sup> εὐδενδρὸς E.

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus refers to "images made of one stone, both of himself (Sesostria) and of his wife, thirty cubits high, and of his sons, twenty cubits, in the temple of Iephaestus at Memphis."

There is here, then, not only the temple of Apis, which lies near the Hephaestium, but also the Hephaestium itself, which is a costly structure both in the size of its naos and in all other respects. In front, in the dromus, stands also a colossus made of one stone;<sup>1</sup> and it is the custom to hold bull-fights in this dromus, and certain men breed these bulls for the purpose, like horse-breeders; for the bulls are set loose and join in combat, and the one that is regarded as victor gets a prize. And at Memphis there is also a temple of Aphroditê, who is considered to be a Greek goddess,<sup>2</sup> though some say that it is a temple of Selenê.<sup>3</sup>

32. There is also a Sarapium at Memphis, in a place so very sandy that dunes of sand are heaped up by the winds; and by these some of the sphinxes which I saw were buried even to the head and others were only half-visible; from which one might guess the danger if a sand-storm should fall upon a man travelling on foot towards the temple. The city is both large and populous, ranks second after Alexandria, and consists of mixed races of people, like those who have settled together at Alexandria. There are lakes situated in front of the city and the palaces, which latter, though now in ruins and deserted, are situated on a height and extend down to the ground of the city below; and adjoining the city are a grove and a lake.

33. On proceeding forty stadia from the city, one

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus (2. 112) refers to the temple of the "Foreign Aphroditê" who identifies her with Helen; but see Rawlinson: *N. B. I. I. 17* (see note 9), who very plausibly identifies her with the Phoenician and Syrian Aphroditê.

<sup>2</sup> Goddess of the Moon.

## STRABO

προελθόντι ὀρεινὴ τις ὀφρὺς ἐστίν, ἐφ' ἣ πολλὰ  
 μὲν εἰσι πυραμίδες, τάφοι τῶν βασιλέων, τρεῖς  
 δ' ἀξιόλογοι· τὰς δὲ δύο τούτων καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπτά  
 θεάμασι καταριθμοῦνται· εἰσὶ γὰρ σταδιαῖαι τὸ  
 ὕψος, τετράγωνοι τῷ σχήματι, τῆς πλευρᾶς  
 ἐκάστης μικρῷ μείζον τὸ ὕψος ἔχουσιν· μικρῷ  
 δὲ καὶ ἡ ἑτέρα τῆς ἑτέρας ἐστὶ μείζων· ἔχει δ'  
 ἐν ὕψει μέσως πῶς<sup>1</sup> τῶν πλευρῶν λίθον ἐξαιρέ-  
 σιμον· ἀρθέντος δὲ σύριγξ ἐστὶ σκολιὰ μέχρι τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Letronno conj. *μῆς* after *πῶς*; (Iroskurd, Meincke and others so read.

<sup>1</sup> Cheops.

<sup>2</sup> Khafra.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* "high up, approximately midway" (*horizontally*)  
 "between the sides" (the *two* sides of the triangle which  
 forms the northern face of the pyramid). This is the mean-  
 ing of the Greek text as it stands; but all editors (from  
 Casaubon down), translators, and archaeologists, so far as the  
 present translator knows, either amend the text or mis-  
 interpret it, or both (see critical note). Letronne (French  
 translation), who is followed by the later translators, insists  
 upon "mo- . . . of μέσως πῶς (translated  
 above by . . . between"), and errone-  
 ously quot . . . σως πῶς, ll. 2. 18, where  
 there is no MS. authority for πῶς, and translates: "elle  
 a sur ses côtés, et à une élévation médiocre, une pierre qui  
 editors insert *μῆς* ("one")  
 . . . ; and, following them, even  
 his monumental work (*The*  
*Gizeh*, p. 168) translates: "The  
 way up one side, has a stone that  
 is interpretations accord with what  
 are known facts; but so does the present interpretation,  
 which also brings out two additional facts of importance:  
 (1) It was hardly necessary for Strabo to state the obvious  
 fact that the stone door was "moderately high up one side"  
 of the . . . at 55 feet vertically or 71  
 feet on . . . private letter from Petrie,

comes to a kind of mountain-brow; on it are numerous pyramids, the tombs of kings, of which three are noteworthy; and two of these are even numbered among the Seven Wonders of the World, for they are a stadium in height, are quadrangular in shape, and their height is a little greater than the length of each of the sides; and one<sup>1</sup> of them is only a little larger than the other.<sup>2</sup> High up, approximately midway between the sides, it has a movable stone,<sup>3</sup> and when this is raised up there is a sloping

dated Sept. 16, 1930), as compared with the height of the vertex (nearly 500 feet), or that the one door was on *one* side of the pyramid. What he means to say is that the door

was not in the middle of the side, but near the vertex. The concision in such cases, he leaves the fact to be inferred.

The wisdom of that secrecy is disclosed by the fact that when the door was closed, it was not distinguishable from the rest of the side. The door was not a door in the ordinary sense of the word, but a flap-door that worked on a stone pivot (Petrie *l.c.*) or a flat slab that was easily tilted up (Borchardt, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXXV. 87), must have fitted so nicely when closed that no one unfamiliar with it could distinguish it. (2) "The sides"

here must refer to the north-west and north-east *edges* of the

pyramid—much less *all four faces*—preceding sentence must mean the

its plane surface. Hence, Strabo means that the doorway was purposely placed to *one side* of

("actually 24 feet," again according to Petrie's letter), and not *at*, a central point between the two edges above-

mentioned, which is the fact in the case—a most important part of the ruse, as was later evidenced by the fact that the

Arabs began to force their way into the pyramid at the centre (see the "Horizontal Section of the Great Pyramid"

θήκης. αὐται μὲν οὖν ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων εἰς<sup>1</sup> τῷ αὐτῷ ἐπιπέδῳ· ἀπωτέρω δ' ἐστὶν ἐν ὕψει μείζονι<sup>2</sup> τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἢ τρίτη πολὺ ἐλάττων τῶν δυεῖν, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος δαπάνης κατεσκευασμένη· ἀπὸ γὰρ θεμελίων μέχρι μέσου σχεδὸν τι μέλανος λίθου ἐστίν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰς θυῖας κατασκευάζουσι, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ὁδῶν εἶναι καὶ δυσκατέργαστος πολυτελὴ τὴν πραγματείαν παρέσχε. λέγεται δὲ τῆς ἐταίρας τάφος γεγονὼς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐραστῶν, ἦν Σαπφὼ μὲν, ἡ τῶν μελῶν ποιήτρια, καλεῖ Δωρίχαν, ἐρωμένην τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῆς Χαράξου γεγονυῖαν, οἶνον κατάγοντος εἰς Ναύκρατιν Λέσβιον κατ' ἐμπορίαν, ἄλλοι δ' ὀνομάζουσι Ῥοδῶπιν<sup>3</sup> μυθεύουσι δ', ὅτι, λουομένης αὐτῆς, ἐν τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτῆς ἀρπάσας αἰτὸς παρὰ τῆς θεραπαίνης κομίσειεν εἰς Μέμφιν καί, τοῦ βασιλέως δικαιοδοτοῦντος ὑπαιθρίου,<sup>4</sup> γενόμενος κατὰ κορυφὴν αὐτοῦ ῥίψει τὸ ὑπόδημα εἰς τὸν κόλπον·

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ, before τῷ, Meineke inserts, following Kramer; ἐν, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> μείζονι *more*, μέζων other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ῥοδῶπιν, Corais, for Ῥόδοπιν EF, Ῥοδόπην other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> ὑπαιθρίου, Kramer; ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ α, ὑπαίθριος other MSS.

in Richard A. Proctor's *The Great Pyramid*, opposite p. 138). In short (1) μέσως πως cannot mean "moderately" in a matter of measurement (if indeed it ever means the same as μετρίως) and naturally goes with τῶν πλευρῶν, not ἐν ὕψει; and in fact some interpreters utterly ignore the πως. (2) The insertion of μίαις is not only unnecessary but eliminates two important observations.

through masonry and  
an unfinished vault

passage to the vault.<sup>1</sup> Now these pyramids are near one another and on the same level; but farther on, at the hill, is the third, which is much two, though constructed at much greater expense; for from the foundations almost to the middle it is made of black stone, the stone from which mortars are made, being brought from a great distance, for it is brought from the mountains of Aethiopia; and because of its being hard and difficult to work into shape it rendered the undertaking very expensive. It is called "Tomb of the Courtesan," having been built by her lovers—the courtesan whom Sappho<sup>2</sup> the Melic poetess calls Doricha, the beloved of Sappho's brother Charaxus, who was engaged in transporting Lesbian wine to Naucratis for sale,<sup>3</sup> but others give her the name Rhodopis.<sup>4</sup> They tell the fabulous story that, when she was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her sandals from her maid and carried it to Memphis; and while the king was administering justice in the open air, the eagle, when it arrived above his head, flung the sandal into

(subterranean chamber) "46 feet long, 27 feet wide, and 10.6 feet high," and "ended in a cul-de-sac," being "intended to mislead possible riflers of the" royal "tomb" above (Knight, *l.c.*). Petrie's translation of μέχρι τῆς θήκης ("to the very foundations," instead of "to the vault") is at least misleading. In the very next sentence Strabo refers to the "foundations" (θεμελίων). Since Strabo fails to mention the vaults of the king and the queen high above, the natural inference might be that he regarded the subterranean vault as the actual royal tomb; and in that case one might assume that the tombs were rifled, not by Augustus, but before his time, perhaps by the Persians.

<sup>2</sup> *Frags.* 138 (Bergk) and *Lyra Græca*, L.C.L., Vol. I, p. 207 (Edmunds).

<sup>3</sup> So Athenæus, 13. 68.

<sup>4</sup> See Herodotus 2. 134-135.



ὁ δὲ καὶ τῷ ῥυθμῷ τοῦ ὑποδήματος καὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ κινήσει περιπέμπειν εἰς τὴν χώραν κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς φορούσης ἀνθρώπου τοῦτο· εὐρεθεῖσα δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ναυκρατιτῶν ἀναχθείη καὶ γένοιτο γυνὴ τοῦ βασιλέως, τελευτήσασα δὲ τοῦ λεχθέντος τύχοι τάφον.

34. "Εν δέ τι τῶν ὀραθέντων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν ταῖς πυραμίσι παραδόξων οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς λατύπης σωροὶ τινες πρὸ τῶν πυραμίδων κεῖνται· ἐν τούτοις δ' εὐρίσκεται ψήγματα καὶ τύψω καὶ μεγέθει φακοειδῇ· ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀνπίσιμα οἷον ἡμιλεπίστων ὑποτρέχει.<sup>1</sup> φασὶ δ' ἀπολιθωθῆναι λείψανα τῆς τῶν ἐργαζομένων τροφῆς· οὐκ ἀπέοικε<sup>2</sup> δέ· καὶ γὰρ οἴκοι παρ' ἡμῖν λόφος ἐστὶν ἐν πεδίῳ παραμήκης, οὗτος δ' ἐστὶ μεστὸς ψήφων φακοειδῶν λίθου πωρείας.<sup>3</sup> καὶ αἱ θαλάττιαι δὲ καὶ αἱ ποτάμια ψῆφοι σχεδόν τι τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ὑπογράφουσιν· ἀλλ' αὐταὶ μὲν  
 O 809 ἐν τῇ κινήσει τῇ διὰ τοῦ ῥεύματος εὐρεσιλογίαν τινὰ ἔχουσιν, ἐκεῖ δ' ἀπορωτέρα ἢ σκέψις. εἴρηται δ' ἐν ἄλλοις καὶ διότι περὶ τὸ μέταλλον τῶν λίθων, ἐξ ὧν αἱ πυραμίδες γεγονάσιν, ἐν ὧσι<sup>4</sup> ταῖς πυραμίσι δὴ πέραν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, Τρωικόν τι καλεῖται πετρῶδες ἱκανῶς ὄρος καὶ σπήλαια ὑπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κώμη πλησίον καὶ τούτοις καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, Τροία καλουμένη, κατοικία

<sup>1</sup> ἐπιτρέχει s, Corais following.

<sup>2</sup> For ἀπέοικε Letronne conj. ἐπέοικε.

<sup>3</sup> πωρείας, Meineke, for πορίας DEF, πωρίας other MSS.; πωρίνου Siebenkees and Groskurd.

<sup>4</sup> ὧσι, Corais, for ὧσι; so the later editors.

his lap; and the king, stirred both by the beautiful shape of the sandal and by the strangeness of the occurrence, sent men in all directions into the country in quest of the woman who wore the sandal; and when she was found in the city of Naucratis, she was brought up to Memphis, became the wife of the king, and when she died was honoured with the above-mentioned tomb.

34. One of the marvellous things I saw at the pyramids should not be omitted: there are heaps of stone-chips lying in front of the pyramids; and among these are found chips that are like lentils both in form and size; and under some of the heaps lie winnowings, as it were, as of half-peeled grains. They say that what was left of the food of the workmen has petrified; and this is not improbable. Indeed, in my home-country,<sup>1</sup> in a plain, there is a long hill which is full of lentil-shaped pebbles of porous stone;<sup>2</sup> and the pebbles both of the seas and of the rivers present about the same puzzling question; but while these latter find an explanation in the motion caused by the current of water, the speculation in that other case is more puzzling. It has been stated elsewhere<sup>3</sup> that in the neighbourhood of the quarry of the stones from which the pyramids are built, which is in sight of the pyramids, on the far side of the river in Arabia, there is a very rocky mountain which is called "Trojan," and that there are caves at the foot of it, and a village near both these and the river which is called Troy, being an ancient settle-

<sup>1</sup> Strabo was born at Amaseia in Pontus (*Introduction*, p. xiv).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "tufa."

<sup>3</sup> Not in Strabo's *Geography*; perhaps in his *History* (see Vol. I, p. 47, note 1).

παλαιὰ τῶν Μενελάῳ συγκατακολουθησάντων αἰχμαλώτων Τρώων, καταμεινάντων δ' αὐτόθι.

35. Μετὰ δὲ Μέμφιν Ἀκανθος πόλις ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀκάνθης ἄλσος τῆς Θηβαϊκῆς, ἐξ ἧς τὸ κύμμι. εἶθ' ὁ Ἀφροδιτοπολίτης νομὸς καὶ ἡ ὁμώνυμος πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ λευκὴ βοῦς ἱερὰ τρέφεται. εἶθ' ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ μεγάλη, καθ' ἣν ἡ διώρυξ ἐστὶν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰς τὴν Λιβύην ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρσινόιτην νομόν, ὥστε καὶ δίστομον εἶναι τὴν διώρυγα, μεταξὺ μέρους τινὸς τῆς νήσου παρεμπίπτοντος. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ νομὸς οὗτος ἀξιολογώτατος τῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν· ἐλαιόφυτός τε γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ μεγάλους καὶ τελείους δένδρεσι καὶ καλλικάρποις, εἰ δὲ συγκομίξοι καλῶς τις, καὶ εὐέλαιος· ὀλιγορῶντες δὲ τούτου πολὺ μὲν ποιοῦσιν ἔλαιον, μοχθηρὸν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδμὴν (ἢ δ' ἄλλη Αἴγυπτος ἀνέλαιός ἐστι πλὴν τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κήπων, οἳ μέχρι τοῦ ἐλαίου χορηγεῖν ἱκανοὶ εἰσιν, ἔλαιον δ' οὐχ ὑπουργοῦσιν). οἶνόν τε οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκφέρει σῆτόν τε καὶ ὕσπρια καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σπέρματα πάμπολλα. θαυμαστὴν δὲ καὶ τὴν λίμνην ἔχει τὴν Μοίριδος<sup>1</sup> καλουμένην, πελαγίαν τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ χροίᾳ θαλαττοειδῆ· καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς δὲ ἐστὶν ὁρᾶν εὐκότως τοῖς θαλαττίοις· ὥς ὑπονοεῖν τὰ αὐτὰ περὶ τῶν κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> Μοίριδος *Ew*, Μούριδος other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> So Diodorus Siculus 1. 56. 4.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. gum arabic.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. *Mimosa Nilotica*.

<sup>4</sup> See § 37 below.

ment of the captive Trojans who accompanied Meneläus but stayed there.<sup>1</sup>

35. After Memphis one comes to a city Acanthus, likewise situated in Libya, and to the temple of Osiris and the grove of the Thebaïc acantha,<sup>2</sup> from which the gum<sup>3</sup> is obtained. Then to the Aphroditopolite Nome, and to the city of like name in Arabia, where is kept a white cow which is sacred. Then to the Heracleote Nome, on a large island, where, on the right, is the canal which leads into Libya to the Arsinoïte Nome, so that the canal has two mouths, a part of the island intervening between the two.<sup>4</sup> This Nome is the most noteworthy of all in respect to its agricultural fertility and its material development, for it contains a great number of olive trees that are large and full-grown and bear fine fruit, and it would also produce good olive oil if the olives were carefully gathered.<sup>5</sup> But since they neglect this matter, although they make much oil, it has a bad smell (the rest of Aegypt has no olive trees, except the gardens near Alexandria, which are sufficient for supplying olives, but furnish no oil). And it produces wine in no small quantity, as well as grain, pulse, and the other seed-plants in very great varieties. It also contains the wonderful lake called the Lake of Moeris, which is an open sea in size and like a sea in colour; and its shores, also, resemble those of a sea, so that one may make the same supposition about this region as about

<sup>5</sup> In some countries, and generally in Asia, "the olives are beaten down by poles or by shaking the boughs, or even allowed to drop naturally, often lying on the ground until the convenience of the owner admits of their removal; much of the inferior oil owes its bad quality to the carelessness of the proprietor of the trees" (*Encyc. Brit.* s.v. "Olive").

Ἀμμωνα τόπων καὶ τούτων (καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πάμπαν πολὺ ἀφεστᾶσιν ἀλλήλων καὶ τοῦ Παραιτονίου), μὴ ὥσπερ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο εἰκάζειν ἔστι πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ἰδρῦσθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεκμηρίων, καὶ ταῦθ' ὁμοίως τὰ χωρία πρότερον ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὑπήργεν. ἡ δὲ κάτω Αἴγυπτος καὶ τὰ μέχρι τῆς λίμνης τῆς Σιρβωνίτιδος πέλαγος ἦν, σύρρουν τυχὸν ἴσως τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ τῇ κατὰ Ἡρώων πόλιν καὶ τὸν Αἰλανίτην<sup>1</sup> μυχόν.

36. Εἴρηται δὲ περὶ τούτων διὰ πλειόνων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ὑπομνήματι τῆς γεωγραφίας, καὶ νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπομνηστέον τὸ<sup>2</sup> τῆς φύσεως ἅμα καὶ τὸ τῆς προνοίας ἔργον εἰς ἓν συμφέροντας· τὸ μὲν τῆς φύσεως, ὅτι τῶν πάντων ὑφ' ἓν<sup>3</sup> συννευόντων τὸ τοῦ ὅλου μέσον καὶ σφαιρουμένων<sup>4</sup> περὶ τοῦτο, τὸ μὲν πυκνότατον καὶ μεσαί-  
C 810 τατόν ἐστιν ἡ γῆ, τὸ δ' ἥττον τοιοῦτον καὶ ἐφεξῆς τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκάτερον δὲ σφαῖρα, ἡ μὲν στερεά, ἡ δὲ κοίλη, ἐντὸς ἔχουσα τὴν γῆν· τὸ δὲ τῆς προνοίας, ὅτι βεβούληται, καὶ αὕτῃ ποικίλτριά τις οὔσα καὶ μυρίων ἔργων δημιουργός, ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ζῶα γεννᾷ, ὥς πολὺ διαφέροντα τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τούτων τὰ κράτιστα θεοὺς τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὧν ἕνεκεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συνέστηκε. τοῖς μὲν οὖν θεοῖς ἀπέδειξε τὸν οὐρανόν, τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις τὴν γῆν, τὰ ἄκρα τῶν τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν· ἄκρα δὲ τῆς σφαίρας τὸ μέσον καὶ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Ἐλανίτην D.

<sup>2</sup> τό, Corais inserts.

<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἓν Dhl.

<sup>4</sup> σφαιρουμένων, Corais, for σφαιρούμενον.

<sup>1</sup> See 16. 2, 30, 4, 4, 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1. 3, 4, 13.

that of Ammon (in fact, Ammon and the Heracleote Nome are not very far distant from one another or from Paraetonium), that, just as from the numerous evidences one may surmise that that temple was in earlier times situated on the sea, so likewise these districts were in earlier times on the sea. And Lower Aegypt and the parts extending as far as Lake Sirbonis were sea—this sea being confluent, perhaps, with the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of Heröopolis and the Aclanites<sup>1</sup> Gulf.

36. I have already discussed this subject at greater length in the First Commentary of my *Geography*,<sup>2</sup> but now also I must comment briefly on the work of Nature and at the same time upon that of Providence, since they contribute to one result.<sup>3</sup> The work of Nature is this, that all things converge to one thing, the centre of the whole, and form a sphere around this; and the densest and most central thing is the earth, and the thing that is less so and next in order after it is the water; and that each of the two is a sphere, the former solid, the latter hollow, having the earth inside of it. And the work of Providence is this, that being likewise a broiderer, as it were, and artificer of countless works, it has willed, among its first works, to beget living beings, as being much superior to everything else, and among these the most excellent beings, both gods and men, on whose account everything else has been formed. Now to the gods Providence assigned the heavens and to men the earth, which are the extremities of the two parts of the universe; and the two extremities of the sphere are the central part and the outermost

<sup>3</sup> The reader will remember that Strabo was a Stoic philosopher (1. 2. 3, 34).

ἐξωτάτω. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῇ γῇ περίκειται τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἔστι δ' ἔνυδρον ζῶον ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ χερσαίου καὶ ἐναέριον καὶ πολλοῦ κοινωνικὸν φωτός, ἐποίησεν ἐξοχὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ πολλὰς<sup>1</sup> καὶ εἰσοχὰς, ὥστ' ἐν αἷς μὲν ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι τὸ σύμπαν ἢ καὶ τὸ πλεόν ὕδωρ ἀποκρύπτου τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ γῆν, ἐν αἷς δ' ἐξέχειν τὴν γῆν ἀποκρύπτουσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, πλὴν ὅσον χρησίμον τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ γένει καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸ ζώοις καὶ φυτοῖς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν κινήσει συνεχεῖ τὰ σύμπαντα καὶ μεταβολαῖς μεγάλαις (οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἄλλως τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τηλικάυτα ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ διοκεῖσθαι), ὑποληπτέον, μήτε τὴν γῆν αἰεὶ συμμένειν οὕτως, ὥστ' αἰεὶ τηλικάυτην εἶναι μηδὲν προστιθεῖσαν ἑαυτῇ μηδ' ἀφαιρούσαν, μήτε τὸ ὕδωρ, μήτε τὴν ἔδραν ἔχειν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάτερον, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς ἄλληλα φυσικωτάτης οὔσης καὶ ἐγγυτάτω τῆς μεταπτώσεως· ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς πολλὴν εἰς ὕδωρ μεταβάλλειν, καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων πολλὰ χερσοῦσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ, καθ' ἣν αὐτὴν<sup>2</sup> τοσαῦται διαφοραί· ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐθρυπτος, ἡ δὲ στερεὰ καὶ πετρώδης καὶ σιδηρῆτις καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας· ἡ μὲν ἁλμυρίς, ἡ δὲ γλυκεῖα καὶ πότιμος, ἡ δὲ φαρμακώδης καὶ σωτήριος καὶ ὀλέθριος καὶ ψυχρὰ καὶ θερμή. τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, εἴ τινα μέρη τῆς γῆς, ἢ νῦν οἰκεῖται, θαλάττῃ πρότερον κατείχετο, τὰ δὲ νῦν

<sup>1</sup> πολλὰς, Tzschucke, for πολλοῖς.

<sup>2</sup> καθ' ἣν αὐτὴν, Groskurd, for καθ' ἑαυτήν.

part.<sup>1</sup> But since water surrounds the earth, and man is not an aquatic animal, but a land animal that needs air and requires much light, Providence has made numerous elevations and hollows on the earth, so that the whole, or the most, of the water is received in the hollows, hiding the earth beneath it, and the earth projects in the elevations, hiding the water beneath itself, except so much of the latter as is useful for the human race, as also for the animals and plants round it. But since all things are continually in motion and undergo great changes (for it is not possible otherwise for things of this kind and number and size in the universe to be regulated), we must take it for granted, first, that the earth is not always so constant that it is always of this or that size, adding nothing to itself nor subtracting anything, and, secondly, that the water is not, and, thirdly, that neither of the two keeps the same fixed place, especially since the reciprocal change of one into the other is most natural and very near at hand; and also that much of the earth changes into water, and many of the waters become dry land in the same manner as on the earth, where also so many variations take place; for one kind of earth crumbles easily and others are solid, or rocky, or contain iron ore, and so with the rest. And the case is the same with the properties of liquids: one water is salty, another sweet and potable, and others contain drugs, salutary or deadly, or are hot or cold. Why, then, is it marvellous if some parts of the earth which are at present inhabited were covered with sea in earlier times, and

<sup>1</sup> Heaven is the outermost periphery, in which is situated everything that is divine (Poseidonius, quoted by Diogenes Laërtius, 7. 138).



πελάγη πρότερον ᾤκειτο; καθάπερ καὶ πηγὰς τὰς<sup>1</sup> πρότερον ἐκλιπεῖν συνέβη, τὰς δ' ἀνεῖσθαι, καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ λίμνας, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὄρη καὶ πεδία εἰς ἀλλήλα μεταπίπτειν· περὶ ὧν καὶ πρότερον<sup>2</sup> καὶ νῦν εἰρήσθω.

C 811 37. Ἡ λίμνη διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ βάθος ἱκανή ἐστι κατὰ<sup>3</sup> τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν πλημμυρίδα φέρειν καὶ μὴ ὑπερπολάζειν εἰς τὰ οἰκούμενα καὶ πεφυτευμένα, εἴτα ἐν τῇ ἀποβάσει τὸ πλεονάζον ἀποδοῦσα τῇ αὐτῇ διώρυγι κατὰ θάτερον τῶν στομάτων ἔχειν ὑπολειπόμενον τὸ χρήσιμον πρὸς τὰς ἐποχτείας καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ διώρυξ. ταῦτα μὲν φυσικά, ἐπίκειται δὲ τοῖς στόμασιν ἀμφοτέροις τῆς διώρυγος κλειῖθρα, οἷς ταμιεύουσιν οἱ ἀρχιτέκτονες τό τε εἰσρέον ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ἐκρέον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ τοῦ λαβυρίνθου κατασκευὴ πάρισον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐστὶν ἔργον καὶ ὁ παρακείμενος τάφος τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος βασιλέως τὸν λαβύρινθον. ἔστι δὲ κατὰ<sup>4</sup> τὸν πρῶτον εἰσπλουν τὸν εἰς τὴν διώρυγα προελθόντι ὅσον τριάκοντα ἢ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἐπίπεδόν τι τραπέζωδες χωρίον, ἔχον κώμην τε καὶ βασιλείου μέγα ἐκ πολλῶν βασιλείων,<sup>5</sup> ὅσοι πρότερον ἦσαν νομοί· τοσαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αὐλαὶ περίστυλοι, συνεχεῖς ἀλλήλαις, ἐφ' ἓνα στίχον πᾶσαι καὶ ἐφ' ἑνὸς τοίχου, ὥς ἂν τείχους μακροῦ<sup>6</sup> προκειμένας ἔχοντος<sup>7</sup> τὰς αὐλάς· αἱ δ' εἰς αὐτάς

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς πηγὰς Dk

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. except

<sup>3</sup> δὲ κατὰ E, δὲ τὸ

ISS.

<sup>4</sup> βασιλείων, Corais, for βασιλέων.

<sup>5</sup> μακροῦ, Corais, for μικροῦ.

<sup>6</sup> ἔχοντος, Corais, for ἔχοντες.

if what are now seas were inhabited in earlier times? Just as fountains of earlier times have given out and others have sprung forth, and rivers and lakes, so also mountains and plains have changed one into another. But I have discussed this subject at length before,<sup>1</sup> and now let this suffice.

37. Be this as it may, the Lake of Moeris,<sup>2</sup> on account of its size and its depth, is sufficient to bear the flood-tides at the risings of the Nile and not overflow into the inhabited and planted parts, and then, in the retirement of the river, to return the excess water to the river by the same canal at each of its two mouths<sup>3</sup> and, both itself and the canal, to keep back an amount remaining that will be useful for irrigation. While these conditions are the work of nature, yet locks have been placed at both mouths of the canal, by which the engineers<sup>4</sup> regulate both the inflow and the outflow of the water. In addition to the things mentioned, this Nome has the Labyrinth, which is a work comparable to the pyramids, and, near it, the tomb of the king who built the Labyrinth.<sup>5</sup> Near the first entrance to the canal, and on proceeding thence about thirty or forty stadia, one comes to a flat, trapezium-shaped place, which has a village, and also a great palace composed of many palaces—as many in number as there were Nomes in earlier times;<sup>6</sup> for this is the number of courts, surrounded by colonnades, continuous with one another, all in a single row and along one wall, the structure being as it were a long wall with the courts in front of it; and the

<sup>1</sup> 1. 3. 4, 12-15.

<sup>2</sup> On this lake, cp. Herodotus 2. 149.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. § 35 above.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, "architects"

<sup>5</sup> On this Labyrinth, cp. Herodotus 2. 148, Diodorus Siculus 1. 60. 3, and Pliny 36. 10.

<sup>6</sup> See 17. 1. 3.

ὁδοὶ καταντικρὺ τοῦ τείχους εἰσί. πρόκεινται δὲ τῶν εἰσόδων κρυπταὶ τινες μακραὶ καὶ πολλαί, δι' ἀλλήλων ἔχουσαι σκολιάς τὰς ὁδοὺς, ὥστε χωρὶς ἡγεμόνος μηδενὶ τῶν ξένων εἶναι δυνατὴν τὴν εἰς ἐκάστην αὐλὴν πάροδόν τε καὶ ἔξοδον. τὸ δὲ θαυμαστόν, ὅτι αἱ στέγαι τῶν οἴκων ἐκάστου μονόλιθοι,<sup>1</sup> καὶ τῶν κρυπτῶν τὰ πλάτη μονολίθους ὡσαύτως ἐστέγασται πλαξίν, ὑπερβαλλούσαις τὸ μέγεθος, ξύλων οὐδαμοῦ καταμεμιγμένων οὐδ' ἄλλης ὕλης οὐδεμιᾶς. ἀναβάντα τε<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ στέγος, οὐ μεγάλῳ<sup>3</sup> ὕψει, ἅτε μονοστέγῳ, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν πεδίου λίθινον ἐκ τηλικούτων λίθων, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐλὰς ἐκπίπτοντα<sup>4</sup> ἐξῆς ὁρᾶν κειμένας ὑπὸ μονολίθων κιόνων ὑψηρεισμένας ἐπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι καὶ οἱ τοῖχοι δὲ οὐκ ἐξ ἐλαττόνων τῷ μεγέθει λίθων σύγκεινται. ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ταύτης πλεόν ἢ στάδιον ἐπεχούσης<sup>5</sup> ὁ τάφος ἐστί, πυραμὶς τετράγωνος, ἐκάστην ~~μεγέθυς~~ <sup>ἔχουσα</sup> τὴν πλευρὰν καὶ τὸ ἕλ. <sup>δ'</sup> ὄνομα ὁ ταφείς. πεποιοῖσθαι δὲ φασὶ τὰς αὐλὰς τοσαύτας, ὅτι τοὺς νομοὺς ἔθος ἦν ἐκεῖσε συνέρχεσθαι πάντα ἀριστίνδην<sup>7</sup> μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἱερέων καὶ ἱερείων, θυσίας τε καὶ θεοδοσίας καὶ δικαιοδοσίας<sup>8</sup> περὶ

<sup>1</sup> μονόλιθοι D, μονολίθου F, μονολίθω other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> All MSS. except E read ἐστί after τε.

<sup>3</sup> Müller-Dübner, following conj. of Meineke, omend μέγα τῷ μεγάλῳ. One would expect ἐν before the οὐ.

<sup>4</sup> For ἐκπίπτοντα, Letronne conj. ἐκκύπτοντα, Kramer εἰσβλέποντα.

<sup>5</sup> ἐπεχούσης, Corais, for ἀπεχούσης.

<sup>6</sup> Ἰμάνδης, Meineke and Müller-Dübner, for Ἰσμάνδης MSS., Μαίνδης Epit. (cp. Ἰσμάνδης § 42 below).

roads leading into them are exactly opposite the wall. In front of the entrances are crypts, as it were, which are long and numerous and have winding passages communicating with one another, so that no stranger can find his way either into any court or out of it without a guide. But the marvellous thing is that the roof of each of the chambers consists of a single stone, and that the breadths of the crypts are likewise roofed with single slabs of surpassing size, with no intermixture anywhere of timber or of any other material. And, on ascending to the roof, which is at no great height, inasmuch as the Labyrinth has only one story, one can see a plain of stone, consisting of stones of that great size; and thence, descending out into the courts again, one can see that they lie in a row and are each supported by twenty-seven monolithic pillars; and their walls, also, are composed of stones that are no smaller in size. At the end of this building, which occupies more than a stadium, is the tomb, a quadrangular pyramid, which has sides about four plethra in width and a height equal thereto. Imandes<sup>1</sup> is the name of the man buried there. It is said that this number of courts was built because it was the custom for all the Nomes to assemble there in accordance with their rank, together with their own priests and priestesses, for the sake of sacrifice and of offering gifts to the gods and of administering

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps an error for "Mandes." The name is spelled Ismandes in §42 below. Diodorus says "Mendes, whom some give the name Marrus." The real builder was Maindes, or Amon-em-hat III, of the twelfth dynasty (Sayce, *The Egypt of the Hebrews*, p. 281).

<sup>7</sup> ἀριστήνην, Tytwhitt, for ἀριστον δ' ἦν.

<sup>8</sup> καὶ δικαιοδοσίας, suspected by Corais and Müller-Dübner.

τῶν μεγίστων χάριν. κατήγετο δὲ τῶν νομῶν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν ἀποδειχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ αὐτῷ.

38. Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἑκατὸν σταδίους πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀρσινόη, Κροκοδείλων δὲ πόλις ἑκαλεῖτο πρότερον· σφρόδρα γάρ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ τιμῶσι τὸν κροκόδειλον, καὶ ἐστὶν ἱερὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν λίμνῃ καθ' αὐτὸν τρεφόμενος, χειροήθης τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. καλεῖται δὲ Σοῦχος· τρέφεται δὲ σιτίοις καὶ κρέαςι καὶ οἴνῳ, προσφερόντων αἰετῶν ξένων τῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θεὰν ἀφικνουμένων. ὁ γοῦν ἡμέτερος ξένος, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐντίμων, αὐτόθι μυσταγωγῶν ἡμᾶς, συνῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, κομίζων ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου πλακουντάριον<sup>1</sup> τι καὶ κρέας ὀπτὸν καὶ προχοῦδιόν τι μελικράτου. εὗρομεν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ χεῖλει κείμενον τὸ θηρίον· προσιόντες δὲ οἱ ἱερεῖς, οἱ μὲν διέστησαν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα, ὁ δὲ ἐνέθηκε τὸ πέμμα, καὶ πάλιν τὸ κρέας, εἶτα τὸ μελίκρατον κατήρασε. καθαλούμενος δὲ εἰς τὴν λίμνην διῆξεν εἰς τὸ πέραν· ἐπελθόντος δὲ καὶ ἄλλου τῶν ξένων, κομίζοντος ὁμοίως ἀπαρχήν,<sup>2</sup> λαβόντες περιῆλθον δρόμῳ καὶ καταλαβόντες προσήνεγκαν ὁμοίως τὰ προσενεχθέντα.

39. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἀρσινοῖτην καὶ<sup>3</sup> τὸν Ἡρακλεωτικὸν νομὸν Ἡρακλέους πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ὁ ἰχνεύμων τιμᾶται ὑπεναντίως τοῖς Ἀρσινοῖταις· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς κροκοδείλους τιμῶσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἢ τε

<sup>1</sup> πλακούντιον E.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπαρχάς E.

<sup>3</sup> καί, Letronne emends to κατὰ, Groskurd to καὶ κατὰ.

<sup>1</sup> For proposed restorations of the Labyrinth, see the Letronne Edition, and Petrie (*The Labyrinth, Gerzeh, and*

justice in matters of the greatest importance. And each of the Nomes was conducted to the court appointed to it.<sup>1</sup>

38. Sailing along shore for a distance of one hundred stadia, one comes to the city Arsinoë, which in earlier times was called Crocodilonpolis; for the people in this Nome hold in very great honour the crocodile, and there is a sacred one there which is kept and fed by itself in a lake, and is tame to the priests. It is called Suchus; and it is fed on grain and pieces of meat and on wine, which are always being fed to it by the foreigners who go to see it. At any rate, our host, one of the officials, who was introducing us into the mysteries there, went with us to the lake, carrying from the dinner a kind of cooky and some roasted meat and a pitcher of wine mixed with honey. We found the animal lying on the edge of the lake; and when the priests went up to it, some of them opened its mouth and another put in the cake, and again the meat, and then poured down the honey mixture. The animal then leaped into the lake and rushed across to the far side; but when another foreigner arrived, likewise carrying an offering of first-fruits, the priests took it, went around the lake in a run, took hold of the animal, and in the same manner fed it what had been brought.

39. After the Arsinoïte and Heracleotic Nomes, one comes to a City of Heracles, where the people hold in honour the ichneumon, the very opposite of the practice of the Arsinoïtae; for whereas the latter hold the crocodile in honour—and on this account

*Mazghuneh*, p. 28), and Myres (*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, III, 134).

διῶρυξ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ μεστὴ τῶν κροκοδείλων καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μοίριδος<sup>1</sup> λίμνη· σέβονται γὰρ καὶ ἀπέχονται αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰχνεύμονας τοὺς ὀλεθριωτάτους τοῖς κροκοδείλοις, καθάπερ καὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσι· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ὡὰ διαφθείρουσιν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ θηρία, τῷ πηλῷ θωρακισθέντες· κυλισθέντες γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ξηραίνονται πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, εἶτα τὰς ἀσπίδας μὲν ἢ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἢ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβόμενοι κατασπῶσιν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ διαφθείρουσι· τοὺς δὲ κροκοδείλους ἐνεδρεύσαντες, ἥνικ' ἂν ἡλιάζωνται κεχηνότες, ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὰ χάσματα καὶ διαφαγόντες τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ τὰς γαστέρας ἐκδύνουσιν ἐκ νεκρῶν τῶν σωμάτων.

40. Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ Κυνοπολίτης νομὸς καὶ Κυνῶν πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Ἄνουβις τιμᾶται καὶ τοῖς κυσὶ τιμὴ καὶ σίτισις τέτακται τις ἱερά. ἐν δὲ τῇ περαίᾳ Ὀξύρυγχος πόλις καὶ νομὸς ὁμώνυμος. τιμῶσι δὲ τὸν Ὀξύρυγχον καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν Ὀξυρύγχου, καίτοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων κοινῇ τιμώντων τὸν Ὀξύρυγχον. τινὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ζώων ἅπαντες κοινῇ τιμῶσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καθάπερ τῶν μὲν πεζῶν τρία, βοῦν, κύνα, αἰλουρον, τῶν δὲ πτηνῶν δύο, ἱέρακα καὶ ἱβιν, τῶν δ' ἐνύδρων δύο, λεπιδωτὸν ἰχθὺν καὶ Ὀξύρυγχον· ἄλλα δ' ἔστιν, ἃ τιμῶσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι, καθάπερ Σαῖται πρόβατον καὶ Θηβαῖται, λάτον δὲ τῶν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ τινὰ ἰχθὺν Λατοπο-

Μοίριδος, Xylander, for Μοῦριδος.

So in § 44 below.  
 1 "City of Dogs."





λῆται, λύκον τε Λυκοπολῖται, κυνοκέφαλον δὲ Ἑρμοπολῖται, κῆβον δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι οἱ κατὰ Μέμφιν· ἔστι δ' ὁ κῆβος τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἑοικώς σατύρῳ, τὰλλα δὲ κυνὸς καὶ ἄρκτου μεταξύ, γεννᾶται δ' ἐν Αἰθιοπία· αἰτὸν δὲ  
 C 813 Θηβαῖοι, λέοντα δὲ Λεοντοπολῖται, αἶγα δὲ καὶ τράγον Μενδήσιοι, μυγαλὴν δὲ Ἀθριβῖται, ἄλλοι δ' ἄλλο τι· τὰς δ' αἰτίας οὐχ ὁμολογουμένας λέγουσιν.

41. Ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶν Ἑρμοπολιτικὴ φυλακὴ, τελώνιον τι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Θηβαΐδος καταφερομένων· ἐντεῦθεν ἀρχὴ τῶν ἐξηκοντασταδίων σχολίων, ἕως Συήνης καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης· εἶτα ἡ Θηβαϊκὴ φυλακὴ καὶ διῶρυξ φέρουσα ἐπὶ Τάνιν· εἶτα Λύκων πόλις καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πανῶν πόλις, λινουργῶν καὶ λιθουργῶν κατοικία παλαιά.

42. Ἐπειτα Πτολεμαϊκὴ πόλις, μεγίστη τῶν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι καὶ οὐκ ἐλάττων Μέμφεως, ἔχουσα καὶ σύστημα πολιτικὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τρόπῳ. ὑπὲρ δὲ ταύτης ἡ Ἀβυδος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ Μεμνόνιον, βασιλείον θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένον ὀλόλιθον<sup>1</sup> τῇ αὐτῇ κατασκευῇ, ἥπερ τὸν λαβύρινθον ἔφαμεν, οὐ πολλαπλοῦν δέ· καὶ κρήνη ἐν βάθει κειμένη, ἥ αὐτὴν διὰ κατακαμφθεισῶν<sup>2</sup> ὑπερβαλλουσῶν τῷ μεγέθει

<sup>1</sup> ὀλόλιθον, omitted by E.

<sup>2</sup> κατακαμφθεισῶν (see Diodorus Siculus 2. 9), Corais, for κατακαμφθέντων. For conjectures, see Kramer.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the Aegyptian jackal (*Canis lupaster*).

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the dog-faced baboon (*Simia hamadryas*).

<sup>3</sup> See 16. 4. 16 and footnote.

the Latopolitæ; a *lycus*<sup>1</sup> by the Lycopolitæ; a *cynocephalus*<sup>2</sup> by the Hermopolitæ; a *cebus*<sup>3</sup> by the Babylonians who live near Memphis (the *cebus* has a face like a satyr, is between a dog and a bear in other respects, and is bred in Aethiopia); an eagle by the Thebans; a lion by the Leontopolitæ; a female and male goat by the Mendesians; a shrew-mouse<sup>4</sup> by the Athribitæ, and other animals by other peoples; but the reasons which they give for such worship are not in accordance.

41. One comes next to the Theban garrison, a kind of toll-station for the goods which come from the Thebais; here begins the reckoning or schoeni at sixty stadia,<sup>5</sup> extending as far as Syenê and Elephantinê; and then to the Theban garrison and the canal that leads to Tanis; and then to Lycopolis and to Aphroditopolis and to Panopolis, an old settlement of linen-workers and stone-workers.

42. Then one comes to the city of Ptolemais, which is the largest of the cities in the Thebais, is no smaller than Memphis, and has also a form of government modelled on that of the Greeks. Above this city lies Abydos, where is the Memnonium, a royal building, which is a remarkable structure built of solid stone, and of the same workmanship as that which I ascribed to the Labyrinth, though not multiplex; and also a fountain<sup>6</sup> which lies at a great depth, so that one descends to it down vaulted galleries made of monoliths of surpassing size and

<sup>1</sup> *Mus araneus*.

<sup>2</sup> See § 24 above, and 11. 11. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Known as "Strabo's Well." See Petrie, *The Osireion at Abydos*, p. 2; and Naville, *The Tomb of Osiris*, *London Times*, March 6 and 17, 1914.

καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ. ἔστι δὲ διώρυξ ἄγουσα ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ. περὶ δὲ τὴν διώρυγα ἀκανθῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄλσος ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. ἔοικε δὲ ὑπάρχειν ποτὲ ἢ Ἀβυδος πόλις μεγάλη, δευτερεύουσα μετὰ τὰς Θήβας, νυνὶ δ' ἐστὶ κατοικία μικρά· εἰ δ', ὥς φασιν, ὁ Μέμνων ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ἰσμάνδης<sup>1</sup> λέγεται, καὶ ὁ λαβύρινθος Μεμνόνιον ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργον, οὐπερ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀβύδῳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Θήβαις· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ λέγεται τινα Μεμνόνια. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀβυδὸν ἐστὶν ἡ πρώτη αὔασις ἐκ τῶν λεχθεισῶν τριῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, διέχουσα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ ἐνθένδε δι' ἐρημίας, εὐνδρὸς τε κατοικία καὶ εὐοῖνος καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱκανή· δευτέρα δ' ἡ κατὰ τὴν Μοίριδος<sup>2</sup> λίμνην· τρίτη δὲ ἡ κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί· καὶ αὗται δὲ κατοικίαι εἰσὶν ἀξιόλογοι.

43. Πολλὰ δ' εἰρηκότες περὶ τοῦ Ἀμμῶνος τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν βουλόμεθα, ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἦν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθόλου καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, νυνὶ δ' ὀλιγωρία κατέχει πολλή, τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρκουμένων τοῖς Σιβύλλης χρησμοῖς καὶ τοῖς Τυρρηνικοῖς θεοπροπίοις διὰ τε σπλάγχχνων καὶ ὀρνιθείας καὶ διοσημιῶν.<sup>3</sup> διόπερ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀμμωνί σχεδὸν τι ἐκλείπεται χρηστήριον, πρότερον δὲ ἐτετίμητο. δηλοῦσι δὲ μάλιστα τοῦτο οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις ἀναγράψαντες,

<sup>1</sup> Σμάνδης F, Ἰμάνδης αx, Μάνδης w (cp. Ἰμάνδης 17. 1. 37).

<sup>2</sup> Μοίριδος E, Μούριδος other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> διοσημιῶν, Corais, for διασημιῶν.

<sup>1</sup> Spelled "Inandes" in § 37 above (see footnote there).

workmanship. There is a canal leading to the place from the great river; and in the neighbourhood of the canal is a grove of Aegyptian *acantha*, sacred to Apollo. Abydus appears once to have been a great city, second only to Thebes, but it is now only a small settlement. But if, as they say, Memnon is called Ismandes<sup>1</sup> by the Aegyptians, the Labyrinth might also be a Memnonium and a work of the same man who built both the Memnonia in Abydus and those in Thebes; for it is said that there are also some Memnonia in Thebes. Opposite Abydus is the first of the above-mentioned three oases in Libya; it is a seven days' journey distant from Abydus through a desert; and it is a settlement which abounds in water and in wine, and is sufficiently supplied with other things. The second oasis is that in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Moeris; and the third is that in the neighbourhood of the oracle in Ammon; and these, also, are noteworthy settlements.

43. Now that I have already said much about Ammon,<sup>2</sup> I wish to add only this: Among the ancients both divination in general and oracles were held in greater honour, but now great neglect of them prevails, since the Romans are satisfied with the oracles of Sibylla, and with the Tyrrhenian prophecies obtained by means of the entrails of animals, flight of birds, and omens from the sky; and on this account, also, the oracle at Ammon has been almost abandoned, though it was held in honour in earlier times; and this fact is most clearly shown by those who have recorded the deeds of Alexander, since,

\* See references in *Index*.

C 814 προστιθέντες μὲν πολὺ καὶ τὸ τῆς κολακείας εἶδος, ἐμφαίνοντες δέ τι<sup>1</sup> καὶ πίστεως ἄξιον. ὁ γοῦν Καλλισθένης φησὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον φιλοδοξῆσαι μάλιστα ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Περσέα ἤκουσε<sup>2</sup> πρότερον ἀναβῆναι καὶ Ἡρακλέα· ὁρμήσαντα δ' ἐκ Παραιτονίου, καίπερ νότων ἐπιπесόντων, βιάσασθαι· πλανώμενον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινορτοῦ σωθῆναι, γενομένων ὄμβρων καὶ дуεῖν κοράκων ἡγησαμένων τὴν ὁδόν, ἤδη τούτων κολακευτικῶς λεγομένων· τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· μόνῳ γὰρ δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸν ἱερέα ἐπιτρέψαι παρελθεῖν εἰς τὸν νεὼ μετὰ τῆς συνήθους στολῆς, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους μετενδύναι τὴν ἐσθήτα, ἔξωθέν τε τῆς θεμιστείας ἀκροάσασθαι πάντας πλὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, τοῦτον δ' ἔνδοθεν· εἶναι δὲ<sup>3</sup> οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχίδαις τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλεόν, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ,

ἧ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων,  
τοῦ προφήτου τὸν Δία ὑποκρινάμενου· τοῦτο μέντοι ῥητῶς εἰπεῖν τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅτι εἴη Διὸς υἱός. προστραγῶδεϊ δὲ τούτοις ὁ Καλλισθένης, ὅτι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ ἐν Βραγχίδαις μαντεῖον ἐκλελοιπότες, ἐξ ὅτου τὸ ἱερόν ὑπὸ τῶν Βραγχιδῶν σεσύλητο ἐπὶ Ξέρξου περσισάντων, ἐκλελοιπυίας δὲ καὶ τῆς κρήνης, τότε ἢ τε κρήνη ἀνάσχοι καὶ μαντεῖα πολλὰ οἱ

<sup>1</sup> δέ τι, the editors, for δ' ἔτι α, δ' ὅτι other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἤκουε DF.

<sup>3</sup> δέ, Meineke inserts.



Μιλησίων πρέσβεις κομίσαιεν<sup>1</sup> εἰς Μέμφιν περὶ τῆς ἐκ Διὸς γενέσεως τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης περὶ Ἀρβηλα νίκης καὶ τοῦ Δαρείου θανάτου καὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι νεωτερισμῶν. περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐγενείας<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν Ἀθιναῖδα φησὶν ἀνειπεῖν· καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁμοίαν γενέσθαι τῇ παλαιᾷ Σιβύλλῃ τῇ Ἐρυθραίᾳ. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν συγγραφέων τοιαῦτα.

44. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀβύδῳ τιμῶσι τὸν Ὅσιριν· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ὀσίριδος οὐκ ἔξεστιν οὔτε ῥῶδον οὔτε αὐλητὴν οὔτε ψάλτην ἀπάρχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἔθος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀβυδὸν Διὸς πόλις ἡ μικρά, εἶτα Τέντυρα πόλις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰγυπτίους ὁ κροκοδείλος ἡτίμωται καὶ ἔχθιστος τῶν ἀπάντων θηρίων νενόμισται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι, καίπερ εἰδότες τὴν κακίαν τοῦ ζώου, καὶ ὡς ὀλέθριον τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ γένει, σέβονται ὁμῶς καὶ ἀπέχονται· οὗτοι δὲ πάντα τρόπον ἀνιχνεύουσι καὶ ἐκφθεύουσιν<sup>3</sup> αὐτούς. ἔνιοι δ' ὥσπερ τοὺς Ψύλλους φασὶ τοὺς πρὸς τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ φυσικὴν τινα ἀντιπάθειαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὰ ἔρπετά, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Τεντυρίτας πρὸς τοὺς κροκοδείλους, ὥστε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάσχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κολυμβᾶν ἀδεῶς καὶ διαπερᾶν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου θαρροῦντος. εἰς τε τὴν Ῥώμην κομισθεῖσι τοῖς  
C 815 κροκοδείλοις ἐπιδείξεως χάριν συνηκολούθουν οἱ Τεντυρίται· γενομένης τε δεξαμενῆς καὶ πηγματοῦς τινος ὑπὲρ μιᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν, ὥστε τοῖς θηρίοις

<sup>1</sup> κομίσαιεν, Casaubon, for κομισθέντες.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke conj. διογενείας or θεογενείας.

<sup>3</sup> ἐκφθεύουσιν DF, διαφθεύουσιν other MSS.

ambassadors to Memphis concerning Alexander's descent from Zeus, his future victory in the neighbourhood of Arbela, the death of Darius, and the revolutionary attempts in Lacedaemon. And he says that the Erythraean Athenaïs<sup>1</sup> also gave out an utterance concerning Alexander's high descent; for, he adds, this woman was like the ancient Erythraean Sibylla. Such, then, are the accounts of the historians.

44. At Abydos they hold in honour Osiris<sup>2</sup>; and in the temple of Osiris<sup>2</sup> neither singer nor flute-player nor harp-player is permitted to begin the rites in honour of the god, as is the custom in the case of the other gods. After Abydos one comes to the Little Diospolis, and to the city Tentyra, where the people, as compared with the other Egyptians, hold in particular dishonour the crocodile and deem it the most hateful of all animals. For although the others know the malice of the animal and how destructive it is to the human race, still they revere it and abstain from harming it,<sup>3</sup> whereas the Tentyritae track them and destroy them in every way. Some say that, just as there is a kind of natural antipathy between the Psylli<sup>4</sup> near Cyrenaea and reptiles, so there is between the Tentyritae and crocodiles, so that they suffer no injury from them, but even dive in the river without fear and cross over, though no others are bold enough to do so. When the crocodiles were brought to Rome for exhibition, they were attended by the Tentyritae; and when a reservoir and a kind of stage above one of the sides had been made for them, so that they could go out of the

<sup>1</sup> 14. 1. 34.

<sup>2</sup> On this temple, see Petrie, *The Osireion at Abydos*.

<sup>3</sup> So in § 80 above.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. 13. 1. 14.



ἐκβάσι τοῦ ὕδατος ἡλιαστήριον εἶναι, ἐκείνοι ἦσαν οἱ τοτὲ μὲν ἐξέλκοντες δικτύῳ πρὸς τὸ ἡλιαστήριον, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν θεατῶν ὁραθῆναι, ἐμβαίνοντες ἅμα εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, τοτὲ δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν δεξαμενὴν κατασπῶντες. τιμῶσι δὲ Ἀφροδίτην· ὅπισθεν δὲ τοῦ νεῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Ἰσιδός ἐστιν ἱερόν· εἴτα τὰ Τυφώνια καλούμενα καὶ ἡ εἰς Κοπτὸν διώρυξ, πόλιν κοινὴν Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀράβων.

45. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν ἰσθμὸς εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν κατὰ πόλιν Βερενίκην, ἀλίμενον μὲν, τῇ δ' εὐκαιρίᾳ τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ καταγωγὰς ἐπιτηδείους ἔχουσαν. λέγεται δ' ὁ Φιλάδελφος πρῶτος στρατοπέδῳ τεμεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, ἀνυδρον οὖσαν, καὶ κατασκευάσαι σταθμούς, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις<sup>1</sup> ὁδεύμασι καὶ διὰ τῶν καμήλων, τοῦτο δὲ πρᾶξαι διὰ τὸ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν δύσπλουν εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ πλοῖζομένοις. ἐφάνη δὴ τῇ πείρᾳ πολὺν τὸ χρήσιμον, καὶ νῦν ὁ Ἰνδικὸς φόρτος<sup>2</sup> ἅπας καὶ ὁ Ἀράβιος καὶ τοῦ Αἰθιοπικοῦ ὁ τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ κατακομιζόμενος εἰς Κοπτὸν φέρεται, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν τοιούτων φορτίων. οὐκ ἄπωθεν δὲ τῆς Βερενίκης ἐστὶ Μυὸς ὄρμος, πόλις ἔχουσα τὸ ναύσταθμον τῶν πλοῖζομένων, καὶ τῆς Κοπτοῦ οὐ πολὺν ἀφέστηκεν ἢ καλουμένην Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις, ὥστε καὶ αἱ διορίζουσαι τὸν ἰσθμὸν δύο πόλεις ἐκατέρωθεν

<sup>1</sup> Arrian (*Indica* 41) likewise uses ἐμπορίοις as an adjective, instead of ἐμπορικοῖς. It is so used nowhere else in Strabo apparently; but the clause appears to be a direct quotation from one of Arrian's sources. Kramer and Meineke reject it as a gloss; Groskurd and O. Müller emend it drastically (see Kramer).

<sup>2</sup> φόρτος z, φόρος other MSS.

water and have a basking-place in the sun, these men at one time, stepping into the water all together, would drag them in a net to the basking-place, so that they could be seen by the spectators, and at another would pull them down again into the reservoir. They worship Aphrodite; and back of her shrine is a temple of Isis. And then one comes to the Typhonia, as they are called, and to the canal that leads to Coptus, a city common to the Egyptians and the Arabians.

45. Thence one crosses an isthmus, which extends to the Red Sea, near a city Berenicê. The city has no harbour, but on account of the favourable lay of the isthmus has convenient landing-places. It is said that Philadelphus was the first person, by means of an army, to cut this road, which is without water, and to build stations, as though for the travels of merchants on camels, and that he did this because the Red Sea was hard to navigate, particularly for those who set sail from its innermost recess. So the utility of his plan was shown by experience to be great, and now all the Indian merchandise, as well as the Arabian and such of the Aethiopian as is brought down by the Arabian Gulf, is carried to Coptus, which is the emporium for such cargoes. Not far from Berenicê lies Myus Hormus,<sup>1</sup> a city containing the naval station for sailors; and not far distant from Coptus lies Apollonopolis,<sup>2</sup> as it is called, so that on either side there are two cities which form the boundaries of

<sup>1</sup> But the well-known Berenicê (now Suakim) was about as far from Myus Hormus (now Kossair) as from Coptus (now Kench); see footnote 2, next page.

<sup>2</sup> "City of Apollo."

εἰσιν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ἡ Κοπτὸς καὶ ὁ Μυὸς ὄρμος  
 εὐδοκιμεῖ, καὶ χρωῶνται τοῖς τόποις τούτοις. πρό-  
 τερον μὲν οὖν ἐνυκτοπόρουσαν πρὸς τὰ ἄστρα βλέ-  
 ποντες οἱ καμηλέμποροι καὶ καθάπερ<sup>1</sup> οἱ πλείοντες  
 ᾧδενον κομίζοντες καὶ ὕδωρ, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ὑδρεῖα  
 κατεσκευάκασιν, ὀρύξαντες πολὺ βάθος, καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν οὐρανίων, καίπερ ὄντων σπανίων, ὅμως δεξα-  
 μενὰς πεποιήνται. ἡ δ' ὁδὸς ἐστὶν ἕξ ἡ ἑπτὰ  
 ἡμερῶν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τούτῳ καὶ τὰ τῆς  
 σμαράγδου μέταλλά ἐστι, τῶν Ἀράβων ὀρυτ-  
 τόντων βαθεῖς τινὰς ὑπονόμους, καὶ ἄλλων λίθων  
 πολυτελῶν.

46. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀπόλλωνος πόλιν οἱ Θήβαι  
 (καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Διὸς πόλις),

αἵθ' ἐκατόμυυλοί εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἀν' ἐκάστην  
 ἀνέρες ἑξοιχνεύσι σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὄχεσφιν.

“Ὅμηρος μὲν οὕτω· λέγει δὲ καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον·

οὐδ' ὅσα Θήβας

C 816 Αἰγυπτίας, ὅθι πλείστα δόμοις ἐνὶ κτήματα  
 κεῖται.

καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τοιαῦτα λέγουσι, μητρόπολιν τιθέντες  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου ταύτην· καὶ νῦν δ' ἔχρη δείκνυται

<sup>1</sup> καὶ καθάπερ, omitted by F, καὶ by D<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 2, 5, 12.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny (6. 28), who speaks only of the route from Coptus to Berenicē, says that the distance was 257 Roman miles and required twelve days, and that one of the watering-places, Old Hydreuma (“Watering-place”), near Berenicē, could accommodate 2000 persons. Strabo seems to be confused on the subject, since (1) there were two distinct routes ;

the isthmus. But now it is Coptus and Myus Hormus<sup>1</sup> that have high repute; and people frequent these places. Now in earlier times the camel-merchants travelled only by night, looking to the stars for guidance, and, like the mariners, also carried water with them when they travelled; but now they have constructed watering-places, having dug down to a great depth, and, although rain-water is scarce, still they have made cisterns for it. The journey takes six or seven days.<sup>2</sup> On this isthmus are also the mines of smaragdus,<sup>3</sup> where the Arabians dig deep tunnels, I might call them, and of other precious stones.

46. After Apollonopolis one comes to Thebes<sup>4</sup> (now called Diospolis<sup>5</sup>), "Thebes of the hundred gates, whence sally forth two hundred men through each with horses and chariots."<sup>6</sup> So Homer; and he speaks also of its wealth, "even all the revenue of Aegyptian Thebes, where lies in treasure-houses the greatest wealth." And others also say things of this kind, making this city the metropolis of Aegypt. Even now traces of its magnitude are

(2) Myus Hormus and the well-known Berenicê were far apart (see footnote above); (3) the journey from Coptus to the latter required about twice as much time as that to the former (cp. Mahaffy, *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 135, 184, 395, 482), and (4) if Strabo was not thinking of a Berenicê near Myus Hormus, his "isthmus" has a very odd shape (see *Map* at end of volume).

<sup>1</sup> Pliny (37. 17) says that there are no fewer than twelve different kinds of smaragdus, and ranks the Aegyptian as third. The Aegyptian appears to have been a genuine emerald. For an account of the mines, see *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. "Emerald."

<sup>4</sup> Luxor.

<sup>5</sup> "City of Zeus."

<sup>6</sup> *Iliad* 9. 383.

τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῆς ἐπὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους τὸ μῆκος. ἔστι δ' ἱερὰ<sup>1</sup> πλείω, καὶ τούτων δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἠκρωτηρίασε Καμβύσης. νυνὶ δὲ κωμηδὸν συνοικεῖται, μέρος μὲν<sup>2</sup> τι ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ, ἐν ἥπερ ἡ πόλις, μέρος δέ τι<sup>3</sup> καὶ ἐν τῇ περαίᾳ, ὅπου τὸ Μεμνόνιον. ἐνταῦθα δὲ δυεῖν κολοσσῶν ὄντων μονολίθων ἀλλήλων πλησίον, ὁ μὲν σώζεται, τοῦ δ' ἑτέρου τὰ ἄνω μέρη τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς καθέδρας πέπτωκε σεισμῷ γεννηθέντος, ὥς φασι. πεπίστευται δ', ὅτι ἅπαξ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην ψόφος, ὥς ἂν πληγῆς οὐ μεγάλης, ἀποτελεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ μένοντος ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ καὶ τῇ βάσει μέρους· κινῶν δὲ παρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων μετὰ Γάλλου Διλίου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ φίλων τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν περὶ ὥραν πρώτην ἤκουσα τοῦ ψόφου, εἴτε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως εἴτε ἀπὸ τοῦ κολοσσοῦ εἴτ' ἐπίτηδες τῶν κύκλῳ καὶ περὶ τὴν βάσιν ἰδρυμένων τινὸς ποιήσαντος τὸν ψόφον, οὐκ ἔχω δισχυρίσασθαι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς αἰτίας πᾶν μᾶλλον ἐπέρχεται πιστεύειν ἢ τὸ ἐκ τῶν λίθων οὕτω τεταγμένων ἐκπέμπεσθαι τὸν ἦχον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Μεμνονίου θῆκαι βασιλέων ἐν σπηλαίοις λατομεταὶ περὶ τετταράκοντα, θαυμαστῶς κατεσκευασμένοι καὶ<sup>4</sup> θέας ἄξιοι. ἐν δὲ ταῖς θήκαις<sup>5</sup> ἐπὶ τινων ὀβελίσκων ἀναγραφαὶ

<sup>1</sup> Kramer inserts τὰ after ἱερὰ; and so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> μὲν, Corais, for δέ.

<sup>3</sup> μέρος δέ τι, Corais, for μέρος δὲ καὶ Ε, μέρος δ' ἐστὶ other MSS.; and so the later editors.

<sup>4</sup> Omitted by MSS. except EF.

<sup>5</sup> Meineke, following conjecture of Zoega (*De Usu Obelisc.* p. 169), which is approved by Kramer and Forbiger, emends θήκαις to θήβαις.



δηλοῦσαι τὸν πλοῦτον τῶν τότε βασιλέων καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτειαν, ὡς μέχρι Σκυθῶν καὶ Βακτρίων καὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ τῆς νῦν Ἰωνίας διατείνασαν, καὶ φόρων πληθὺς καὶ στρατιᾶς περὶ ἑκατὸν μυριάδας. λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ φιλόσοφοι μάλιστα οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἱερεῖς· τούτων δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας μὴ κατὰ σελήνην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἥλιον, τοῖς τριακονθημέροις δώδεκα μῆσιν ἐπαγόντων πέντε ἡμέρας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐπιτρέχοντος μορίου τινὸς τῆς ἡμέρας, περίοδόν τινα συντιθέασιν ἐξ ὅλων ἡμερῶν καὶ ὅλων ἐνιαυτῶν τοσούτων, ὅσα μόρια τὰ ἐπιτρέχοντα συνελθόντα ποιεῖ ἡμέραν. ἀνατιθέασι δὲ τῷ Ἑρμῇ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην<sup>1</sup> μάλιστα<sup>2</sup> σοφίαν· τῷ δὲ Διί, ὃν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδεστάτη καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱερᾶται, ἃς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παλλάδας·<sup>3</sup> αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γένηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδοται πρὸς ἄνδρα·<sup>4</sup> πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἄγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακείας καιρόν.

C 817 47. Μετὰ δὲ Θήβας Ἑρμωνθὺς πόλις, ἐν ᾗ ὁ

<sup>1</sup> τοσαύτην C<sup>1</sup>ms<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> μάλιστα, after τοιαύτην, is omitted by the editors before Kramer.

<sup>3</sup> For παλλάδας Xylander conj. παλλακίδας (see *Thesaurus*, s.v. παλλακή).

<sup>4</sup> ἄνδρα <sup>2</sup>ms and the editors, ἄνδρας other MSS.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. each *tr* "whole year" . . . . . days, and each *true* Hence they formed

which show the wealth of the kings at that time, and also their dominion, as having extended as far as the Scythians and the Bactrians and the Indians and the present Ionia, and the amount of tributes they received, and the size of army they had, about one million men. The priests there are said to have been, for the most part, astronomers and philosophers; and it is due to them that the Egyptian people reckon the days, not by the moon, but by the sun, adding to the twelve months of thirty days each five days each year; and, for the filling out of the whole year, since a fraction of the day runs over and above, they form a period of time from enough whole days, or whole years, to make the fractions that run over and above, when added together, amount to a day.<sup>1</sup> They attribute to Hermes all wisdom of this particular kind; but to Zeus, whom they hold highest in honour, they dedicate a maiden of greatest beauty and most illustrious family (such maidens are called "pallades"<sup>2</sup> by the Greeks); and she prostitutes herself, and cohabits with whatever men she wishes until the natural cleansing of her body takes place;<sup>3</sup> and after her cleansing she is given in marriage to a man; but before she is married, after the time of her prostitution, a rite of mourning is celebrated for her.

47. After Thebes, one comes to a city Hermonthis,

a period out of enough of these supernumerary fractions, when added together, to make one day; *i.e.* they intercalated a day every fourth year; a practice which later passed into the Julian Calendar. Cp. § 29 (above) and footnote.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "virgin-priestesses," if the text is correct (see critical note). Diodorus Siculus (1.47.1) calls these maidens "pallacides (*i.e.* concubines) of Zeus."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* until "menstruation."



τε Ἀπόλλων τιμᾶται καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς· τρέφεται δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα βούς· ἔπειτα Κροκοδείλων πόλις, τιμῶσα τὸ θηρίον· εἶτα Ἀφροδίτης πόλις καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Λατόπολις, τιμῶσα Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τὸν λάτον· εἶτα Εἰλειθυίας πόλις καὶ ἱερόν· ἐν δὲ τῇ περαίᾳ Ἱεράκων πόλις, τὸν ἱέρακα τιμῶσα· εἶτ' Ἀπόλλωνος πόλις, καὶ αὕτη πολεμοῦσα τοῖς κροκοδείλοις.

48. Ἡ δὲ Συήνη καὶ ἡ Ἐλεφαντίνη, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πόλις, ἡ δ' ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ προκειμένη τῆς Συήνης νῆσος ἐν ἡμισταδίῳ καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ πόλις ἔχουσα ἱερόν Κνούφιδος καὶ νελομέτριον, καθάπερ Μέμφις. ἔστι δὲ τὸ νελομέτριον συννόμφ λίθω<sup>1</sup> κατεσκευασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ ὄχθῃ τοῦ Νείλου φρέαρ, ἐν ᾧ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου<sup>2</sup> σημειοῦνται τὰς μεγίστας τε καὶ ἐλαχίστας καὶ τὰς μέσας· συναναβαίνει γὰρ καὶ συνταπεινοῦται τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ ἐν τῷ φρέατι ὕδωρ. εἰσὶν οὖν ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ τοῦ φρέατος παραγραφαί, μέτρα τῶν τελείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναβάσεων. ἐπισκοποῦντες οὖν ταύτας διασημαίνουσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν· πρὸ πολλοῦ γὰρ ἴσασιν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σημείων καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν<sup>3</sup> τὴν ἐσομένην ἀνάβασιν καὶ προδηλοῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοῖς γεωργοῖς χρήσιμον τῆς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> συννόμφ λίθω, Casaubon, for σὺν μονολίθῳ; so the later editors.

<sup>2</sup> E reads μονολίθου instead of Νείλου.

<sup>3</sup> For καὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν Casaubon conj. καὶ τεκμηρίων ("evidences"); Corais writes καὶ μέτρων ("measures"), Kramer approving.

<sup>1</sup> See § 40 above.

where both Apollo and Zeus are worshipped; and there, too, a bull is kept. And then to a City of Crocodiles, which holds in honour that animal. And then to a City of Aphroditê, and, after this, to Latopolis, which holds in honour Athena and the *latus*; <sup>1</sup> and then to a City of Eileithuia <sup>2</sup> and a temple; and on the far side of the river lies a City of Hawks, which holds the hawk in honour; <sup>3</sup> and then to Apollonospolis, which also carries on war against the crocodiles.

18. As for Syenê <sup>4</sup> and Elephantinê, the former is a city on the borders of Aethiopia and Aegypt, and the latter is an island in the Nile, being situated in front of Syenê at a distance of half a stadium, and a city therein which has a temple of Cnuphis and, like Memphis, a nilometer. The nilometer is a well on the bank of the Nile constructed with close-fitting stones, <sup>5</sup> in which are marks showing the greatest, least, and mean rises of the Nile; for the water in the well rises and lowers with the river. Accordingly, there are marks on the wall of the well, measures of the complete rises and of the others. So when watchers inspect these, they give out word to the rest of the people, so that they may know; for long beforehand they know from such signs and the days <sup>6</sup> what the future rise will be, and reveal it beforehand. This is useful, not only to the farmers with regard to the

<sup>2</sup> The goddess of childbirth.

<sup>3</sup> The hawk ("hierax"; see § 49 below) was sacred to Apollo, as was the eagle to Zeus (Aristophanes, *Birds*, 516).

<sup>4</sup> Assuan.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. the structure of the sewers at Rome (5. 3. 8).

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* apparently, from the times of the observations as compared with the readings of the meter (but see critical note).

ὑδάτων ταμείας χάριν καὶ παραχωμάτων καὶ διωρύγων καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων, καὶ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν προσόδων χάριν· αἱ γὰρ μείζους ἀναβάσεις μείζους καὶ τὰς προσόδους ὑπαγορεύουσιν. ἐν δὲ τῇ Συήνῃ καὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐστὶ τὸ διασημαῖνον τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς,<sup>1</sup> διότι τῷ τροπικῷ κύκλῳ ὑπόκεινται οἱ τόποι οὗτοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀσκίους τοὺς γινώμονας κατὰ μεσημβρίαν.<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων τόπων, λέγω δὲ τῶν Ἑλλαδικῶν, προϊοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον ὁ ἥλιος κατὰ κορυφὴν ἡμῖν γίνεται καὶ ποιεῖ τοὺς γινώμονας ἀσκίους κατὰ μεσημβρίαν· ἀνάγκη δέ, κατὰ κορυφὴν ἡμῖν γινομένου, καὶ εἰς τὰ φρέατα βάλλειν μέχρι τοῦ ὕδατος τὰς αὐγὰς, καὶ βαθύτατα ἢ κατὰ κάθετον γὰρ ἡμεῖς τε ἕσταμεν καὶ τὰ ὀρύγματα τῶν φρεάτων κατεσκευάσται. εἰς δ' ἐνταῦθα τρεῖς σπεῖραι Ῥωμαίων ἰδρυμέναι φρουρὰς χάριν.

49. Μικρὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἐστὶν ὁ μικρὸς καταράκτης,<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ θεῶν τινὰ οἱ σκαφῖται τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπιδείκνυνται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ καταράκτης ἐστὶ κατὰ μέσον τὸν ποταμόν, πετρῶδης τις ὀφρὺς, ἐπίπεδος μὲν ἄνωθεν, ὥστε δέχεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν, τελευτῶσα δ' εἰς κρημνόν, καθ' οὗ καταρρήγνυνται τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ πρὸς τῇ γῇ ρεῖθρον, ὃ μάλιστα καὶ ἀνάπλουν  
C 818 ἔχει· ἀναπλεύσαντες οὖν ταύτῃ καταρρέουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν καταράκτην καὶ ὠθοῦνται μετὰ τῆς σκάφης

<sup>1</sup> καί, before διότι, the editors omit.

<sup>2</sup> The words καὶ ποιοῦσιν . . . μεσημβρίαν are rejected by Kramer and Meineke.

<sup>3</sup> καταράκτης DE, καταρράκτης other MSS.; and so in the succeeding uses of the word.

water-distribution, embankments, canals, and other things of this kind, but also to the praefects, with regard to the revenues; for the greater rises indicate that the revenues also will be greater. But in Syenê<sup>1</sup> is also the well that marks the summer tropic, for the reason that this region lies under the tropic circle and causes the gnomons to cast no shadow at midday; for if from our region, I mean that of Greece, we proceed towards the south, it is at Syenê that the sun first gets over our heads and causes the gnomons to cast no shadow at midday; and necessarily, when the sun gets over our heads, it also casts its rays into wells as far as the water, even if they are very deep; for we ourselves stand perpendicular to the earth and wells are dug perpendicular to the surface. And here are stationed three cohorts as a guard.

49. A little above Elephantinê is the little cataract, on which the boatmen exhibit a kind of spectacle for the praefects;<sup>2</sup> for the cataract is at the middle of the river, and is a brow of rock, as it were, which is flat on top, so that it receives the river, but ends . . . which the water dashes; whereas . . . ards the land there is a stream which generally can even be navigated up-stream. Accordingly, the boatmen, having first sailed up-stream here, drift down to the cataract, are thrust along with the boat over the precipice, and escape

<sup>1</sup> So Pliny (2. 75) and Arrian (*Indica*, 25. 7); but in reality Syenê was slightly to the north of the tropic, its latitude being 24° 1'. The obliquity of the ecliptic in Eratosthenes' time was about 23° 44', in Strabo's time about 23° 42', and to-day is about 23° 27'.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Aelius Gallus, whom Strabo accompanied.

ἐπὶ τὸν κρημνὸν καὶ σώζονται σὺν αὐτῇ<sup>1</sup> ἀπαθεῖς. τοῦ δὲ καταράκτου μικρὸν ἐπάνω τὰς Φιλὰς εἶναι συμβαίνει, κοινὴν κατοικίαν Αἰθιοπῶν τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίων, κατεσκευασμένην ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἴσην, ἱερὰ ἔχουσαν Αἰγύπτια· ὅπου καὶ ὄρνεον τιμᾶται, ὃ καλοῦσι μὲν ἱέρακα, οὐδὲν δὲ ὅμοιον ἔμοιγε ἐφαίνετο ἔχειν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱέραξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει μείζον ἦν καὶ τῇ ποικιλίᾳ πολὺ ἐξηλλαγμένον. Αἰθιοπικὸν δ' ἔφασαν εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθεν κομίζεσθαι, ὅταν ἐκλίπῃ, καὶ πρότερον.<sup>2</sup> καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε ἐδείχθη ἡμῖν πρὸς ἐκλείψει ὃν διὰ νόσον.

50. Ἦλθομεν δ' εἰς Φιλὰς ἐκ Συήνης ἀπήνῃ δι' ὀμαλοῦ σφόδρα πεδίου σταδίους ὁμοῦ τι ἑκατόν.<sup>3</sup> παρ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἦν ἰδεῖν ἑκατέρωθεν πολλαχοῦ, ὥσπερ ἑρμαῖα, πέτρον ἡλίβατον στρογγύλον, λεῖον ἱκανῶς, ἐγγὺς σφαιροειδοῦς, τοῦ μέλανος καὶ σκληροῦ λίθου, ἐξ οὗ αἱ θυταὶ γίνονται, ἐπὶ πέτρῳ κείμενον μείζονι καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πάλιν ἄλλον· ἔστι δ' ὅτε αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἔκειντο οἱ πέτροι· ἦν δ' ὁ μὲν μέγιστος τὴν διάμετρον ποδῶν οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ δώδεκα, ἅπαντες δὲ μείζους ἢ ἡμίσεις τούτων. διέβημεν δὲ εἰς τὴν νῆσον ἐπὶ πάκτωνος· ὁ δὲ πάκτων διὰ σκυταλίδων πεπηγός ἐστι σκάφιον, ὥστ' εἰσκέναι

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ E, αὐταῖς other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρότερον is omitted by F.

<sup>3</sup> For ἑκατόν (ρ') Groskurd reads πεντήκοντα (ν').

<sup>1</sup> Probably an error for "fifty," as Groskurd suggests (see critical note).

unharméd, boat and all. A little above the cataract lies Philae, a common settlement of Aethiopians and Aegyptians, which is built like Elephantiné and is equal to it in size; and it has Aegyptian temples. Here, also, a bird is held in honour, which they call a hawk, though to me it appeared to be in no respect like the hawks in our country and in Aegypt, but was both greater in size and far different in the varied colouring of its plumage. They said that it was an Aethiopian bird, and that another was brought from Aethiopia whenever the one at hand died, or before. And in fact the bird shown to us at the time mentioned was nearly dead because of disease.

50. We went to Philae from Syenê by wagon through an exceedingly level plain—a distance all told of about one hundred<sup>1</sup> stadia. Along the whole road on either side one could see in many places a stone like our Hermae;<sup>2</sup> it was huge, round, quite smooth, nearly sphere-shaped, and consisted of the black, hard stone from which mortars are made—a smaller stone lying on a larger, and on that stone again another.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, however, it was only a single stone; and the largest was in diameter no less than twelve feet, though one and all were larger than half this measure. We crossed to the island on a *pacton*. The *pacton* is a small boat constructed of withes, so that it resembles woven-work;

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* quadrangular pillars surmounted by a head or bust of Hermes, which were used as sign-posts or boundary-marks.

<sup>3</sup> Pocock (*Travels in Egypt*, in *Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels*, Vol. XV, p. 265), who saw some of these stones, says that they were rocks of red granite which had turned blackish on the outside; "a rock standing up like a pillar, and a large rock on it, hieroglyphics being cut on some of them."

διαπλοκίνῳ· ἐστῶτες δ' ἐν ὕδατι ἢ καὶ σανιδίοις  
 τισὶ προσκαθήμενοι ῥαδίως ἐπεραιώθημεν, δεδι-  
 ότες<sup>1</sup> μάτην.<sup>2</sup> ἀκίνδυνα γάρ ἐστιν, ἂν μὴ τις  
 ὑπέργομον ποιήσῃ τὸ πορθμεῖον.

51. Καθ' ὅλην δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον τοῦ φοίνικος  
 ἀγεννοῦς ὄντος καὶ ἐκφέροντος καρπὸν οὐκ  
 εὐβρωτον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸ Δέλτα τόποις καὶ περὶ  
 τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν, ὃ ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι φοῖνιξ  
 ἄριστος τῶν ἄλλων φύεται. θαυμάζειν οὖν  
 ἄξιον, πῶς ταῦτ' ὁ κλίμα οἰκοῦντες τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ  
 καὶ ὁμοροὶ οἱ περὶ τὸ Δέλτα καὶ τὴν Ἀλεξαν-  
 δρείαν, τοσοῦτον διαλλάττουσιν, ἐκείνης πρὸς  
 ἄλλῳ φοίνικι καὶ τὸν καρυωτὸν γεννώσης, οὐ  
 πολὺ κρεῖττονα τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. διττὸς δ'  
 ἐστὶν ὃ τε ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι καὶ ὃ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ,  
 ὃ τε ἄλλος καὶ ὃ καρυωτός, σκληρότερος δ' ὁ  
 Θηβαϊκός, ἀλλὰ τῇ γεύσει εὐστομώτερος. ἐστι  
 δὲ καὶ νῆσος ἡ μάλιστα ἐκφέρουσα τὸν ἄριστον,  
 μεγίστην τελούσα πρόσοδον τοῖς ἡγεμόσι·  
 βασιλικὴ γὰρ ἦν, ἰδιώτῃ δ' οὐ μετῇ, καὶ νῦν  
 τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐστὶ.

52. Πολλὰ δ' Ἡρόδοτός τε καὶ ἄλλοι φλυαροῦ-  
 σιν, ὥσπερ μέλος ἢ ῥυθμὸν ἢ ἡδυσμά τι τῷ  
 O 819 λόγῳ τὴν τερατείαν προσφέροντες· οἷον καὶ τὸ  
 φάσκειν περὶ τὰς νήσους τὰς πρὸς τῇ Συήνῃ  
 καὶ τῇ Ἐλεφαντίνῃ, πλείους δ' εἰσὶ, τὰς πηγὰς  
 τοῦ Νεῖλου εἶναι, καὶ βάθος ἄβυσσον ἔχειν τὸν  
 πόρον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν τόπον. νήσους δ' ὁ Νεῖλος  
 κατεσπαρμένας ἔχει παμπόλλας, τὰς μὲν καλυπ-  
 τομένας ὅλας ἐν ταῖς ἀναβάσεσι, τὰς δ' ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> μοz read οὐ before δεδιότες.

<sup>2</sup> μάτην EF, omitted by other MSS.

and though standing in water or seated on small boards, we crossed easily, being afraid without cause, for there is no danger unless the ferry-boat is overladen.

51. Throughout the whole of Aegypt the palm tree is not of a good species; and in the region of the Delta and Alexandria it produces fruit that is not good to eat; but the palm tree in the Thebaïs is better than any of the rest. Now it is a thing worth marvelling at, that a country which is in the same latitude as Judaea and borders on it, I mean the country round the Delta and Alexandria, differs so much, since Judaea, in addition to another palm, produces also the caryotic, which is somewhat better than the Babylonian. There are two kinds in the Thebaïs as well as in Judaea, both the caryotic and the other; and the Thebaïc date is harder, but more agreeable to the taste. There is also an island which is particularly productive of the best date, yielding a very large revenue for the praefects; for it used to be a royal possession, and no private individual shared in it, but it now belongs to the praefects.

52. Both Herodotus<sup>1</sup> and others talk much nonsense, adding to their account marvellous tales, to give it, as it were, a kind of tune or rhythm or relish; as, for example, the assertion that the sources of the Nile are in the highlands of the islands near Syenê and Elephantine (of which there are several), and that at this place its channel has a bottomless depth. The Nile has very many islands scattered along its course, of which some are wholly covered at its risings and others only partly; but

<sup>1</sup> 2. 28.



μέρους, ἐποχετεύεται δὲ τοῖς κοχλiais τὰ λίαν ἔξαλα.

53. Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἡ Αἴγυπτος εἰρηνικὴ τὸ πλεον ἐξ ἀρχῆς διὰ τὸ αὐταρκες τῆς χώρας καὶ τὸ δυσεῖσβολον τοῖς ἔξωθεν, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄρκτων ἀλιμένῳ παραλία καὶ πελάγει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ φρουρουμένη, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἕω καὶ ὄρεσι, τοῖς τε Λιβυκοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑσπερίοις ἔφαμεν· λοιπὰ δὲ τὰ πρὸς νότον Τρωγλοδύται καὶ Βλέμνυες καὶ Νούβαι καὶ Μεγίβαροι οἱ ὑπὲρ Συήνης Αἰθίοπες· εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι νομάδες καὶ οὐ πολλοὶ οὐδὲ μάχιμοι, δοκοῦντες δὲ τοῖς πάλαι διὰ τὸ ληστρικῶς ἀφυλάκτοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι πολυλάκεις· οἱ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ Μερόην ἀνήκοντες Αἰθίοπες, οὐδ' οὗτοι πολλοὶ οὔτε ἐν συστροφῇ, ἅτε ποταμίαν μακρὰν στενὴν καὶ σκολιὰν οἰκοῦντες, ὅταν προείπομεν· οὐδὲ παρεσκευασμένοι καλῶς οὔτε πρὸς πόλεμον οὔτε πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον βίον. καὶ νῦν δὲ διάκειται παραπλησίως ἡ χώρα πᾶσα· σημεῖον δέ· τρισὶ γοῦν σπεύραις, οὐδὲ ταύταις ἐντελέσειν, ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡ χώρα φρουρεῖται· τολμήσασι δὲ τοῖς Αἰθίοσιν ἐπιθέσθαι κινδυνεῦσαι τῇ χώρᾳ συνέπεσε τῇ σφετέρᾳ. καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ δυνάμεις αἱ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οὔτε τοσαῦταί τινες εἰσιν οὔτε ἀθρόαις ἐχρήσαντο οὐδ' ἅπαξ Ῥωμαῖοι· οὐ γὰρ εἰσιν οὗτ' αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πολεμισταί, καίπερ ὄντες παμπληθεῖς, οὔτε τὰ περίξ ἔθνη. Γάλλος μὲν γε Κορνήλιος, ὁ πρῶτος κατασταθεὶς ἑπαρχος

<sup>1</sup> Cp. § 30 above.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. § 4 above.

<sup>3</sup> See §§ 3 and 4 above.

the exceedingly high parts of the latter are irrigated by means of screws.<sup>1</sup>

53. Now Aegypt was generally inclined to peace from the outset, because of the self-sufficiency of the country and of the difficulty of invasion by outsiders, being protected on the north by a harbourless coast and by the Aegyptian Sea, and on the east and west by the desert mountains of Libya and Arabia, as I have said;<sup>2</sup> and the remaining parts, those towards the south, are inhabited by Troglodytes, Blemmyes, Nubae, and Megabari, those Aethiopians who live above Syenê. These are nomads, and not numerous, or warlike either, though they were thought to be so by the ancients, because often, like brigands, they would attack defenceless persons. As for those Aethiopians who extend towards the south and Meroë, they are not numerous either, nor do they collect in one mass, inasmuch as they inhabit a long, narrow, and winding stretch of river-land, such as I have described before;<sup>3</sup> neither are they well equipped either for warfare or for any other kind of life. And now, too, the whole of the country is similarly disposed to peace. And the following is a sign of the fact: the country is sufficiently guarded by the Romans with only three cohorts, and even these are not complete; and when the Aethiopians dared to make an attack upon them, they imperilled their own country. The remaining Roman forces in Aegypt are hardly as large as these, nor have the Romans used them collectively even once; for neither are the Aegyptians themselves warriors, although they are very numerous, nor are the surrounding tribes. Cornelius Gallus, the first man appointed praefect of the country by Caesar, attacked

τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, τὴν τε Ἡρώων πόλιν ἀποστᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν δι' ὀλίγων εἴλε, στάσιν τε γενηθεῖσαν ἐν τῇ Θηβαΐδι διὰ τοὺς φόρους ἐν βραχεὶ κατέλυσε. Πετρώνιος τε ὕστερον τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρέων πλήθους τοσούτων μυριάδων ὀρμήσαντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ λίθων βολῆς, αὐτοῖς τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν στρατιώταις ἀντέσχε, καὶ διαφθείρας τινὰς αὐτῶν τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔπαυσε. Γάλλος τε Αἴλιος μέρει τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ φρουρᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐμβαλὼν εἴρηται, τίνα τρόπον ἐξήλεγξε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπολέμους ὄντας· εἰ δὴ μὴ ὁ Συλλαῖος αὐτὸν προὔδιδου, καὶ κατεστρέψατο τὴν Εὐδαίμονα πᾶσαν.

Ο 820 54. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ Αἰθίοπες, καταφρονήσαντες τῷ μέρος τι τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυνάμεως ἀπεσπᾶσθαι μετὰ Γάλλου Αἰλίου πολεμοῦντος πρὸς τοὺς Ἀραβας, ἐπῆλθον<sup>1</sup> τῇ Θηβαΐδι καὶ τῇ φρουρᾷ τῶν τριῶν σπειρῶν τῶν κατὰ Συήνην καὶ ἐλόντες ἔφθασαν τὴν τε Συήνην καὶ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην καὶ Φιλὰς ἐξ ἐφόδου διὰ τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο, ἀνέσπασαν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Καίσαρος ἀνδριάντας· ἐπελθὼν δὲ ἐλάττωσιν ἢ μυρίοις πεζοῖς Πετρώνιος, ἵππεῦσι δὲ ὀκτακοσίοις πρὸς ἄνδρας τρισμυρίους, πρῶτον μὲν ἠνάγκασεν ἀναφυγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ψέλχιν, πόλιν Αἰθιοπικὴν, καὶ πρεσβεύεται τὰ τε ληθθέντα ἀπαιτῶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας, δι' ἃς ἤρξαν πολέμου· λεγόντων δ', ὥς ἀδικοῦντο ὑπὸ τῶν νομάρχων,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔφη τούτους ἡγεμόνας εἶναι τῆς χώρας, ἀλλὰ Καίσαρα· αἰτησαμένων δ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς εἰς

<sup>1</sup> ἐπῆλθον, Corais, for ἐπελθόντες.

Heroönpolis, which had revolted, and took it with only a few soldiers, and in only a short time broke up a sedition which had taken place in the Thebais on account of the tributes. And at a later time Petronius, when all that countless multitude of Alexandrians rushed to attack him with a throwing of stones, held out against them with merely his own body-guard, and after killing some of them put a stop to the rest. And I have already stated<sup>1</sup> how Aelius Gallus, when he invaded Arabia with a part of the guard stationed in Aegypt, discovered that the people were unwarlike; indeed, if Syllaëus had not betrayed him, he would even have subdued the whole of Arabia Felix.

54. But the Aethiopians, emboldened by the fact that a part of the Roman force in Aegypt had been drawn away with Aelius Gallus when he was carrying on war against the Arabians, attacked the Thebais and the garrison of the three cohorts at Syenê, and by an unexpected onset took Syenê and Elephantinê and Philae, and enslaved the inhabitants, and also pulled down the statues of Caesar. But Petronius, setting out with less than ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry against thirty thousand men, first forced them to flee back to Pselchis, an Aethiopian city, and sent ambassadors to demand what they had taken, as also to ask the reasons why they had begun war; and when they said that they had been wronged by the Nomarchs,<sup>2</sup> he replied that these were not rulers of the country, but Caesar; and when they had requested three days for delibera-

<sup>1</sup> 16. 4. 23.<sup>2</sup> "Nome-rulers."<sup>3</sup> νομάρχων 3, μονάρχων other MSS.

βουλὴν καὶ μηδέν, ὧν ἐχρῆν, ποιούντων, προσβαλὼν ἠνάγκασε προελθεῖν εἰς μάχην, ταχὺ δὲ τροπὴν ἐποίησε, συντεταγμένων τε κακῶς καὶ ὥπλισμένων· μεγάλους γὰρ εἶχον θυρεοὺς, καὶ τούτους ὠμοβοῖνους, ἀμυντήρια δὲ πελέκεις, οἱ δὲ κοντούς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ξίφη. τινὲς μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν συνηλάθησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς τὴν ἐρημίαν ἔφυγον, τινὰς δὲ νῆσος πλησίον ὑπεδέξατο ἐμβάιντας<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸν πόρον, οὐ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐνταῦθα οἱ κροκόδειλοι διὰ τὸν ῥοῦν. τούτων δ' ἦσαν καὶ οἱ τῆς βασιλίσσης στρατηγοὶ τῆς Κανδάκης, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἤρξε τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν, ἀνδρική τις γυνὴ πεπηρωμένη τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν· τούτους τε δὴ ζωγρίᾳ λαμβάνει ἅπαντας, ἐπιπλεύσας σχεδίαῖς τε καὶ ναυσί, καὶ καταπέμπει παραχρῆμα εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἐπελθὼν τε τὴν Ψέλχιν αἰρεῖ· προσαριθμουμένου δὲ τοῖς ἐαλωκόσι τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πεσόντων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τοὺς σωθέντας ὀλίγους παντάπασι γενέσθαι συνέβη. ἐκ δὲ Ψέλχιος ἦκεν εἰς Πρῆμνιν, ἐρυμνὴν πόλιν, διελθὼν τοὺς θῖνας, ἐν οἷς ὁ Καμβύσου κατεχώσθη στρατὸς ἐμπεσόντος ἀνέμου. προσβαλὼν δὲ ἐξ ἐφόδου τὸ φρούριον αἰρεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ Ναπάτων· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ βασίλειον τῆς Κανδάκης, καὶ ἦν ἐνταῦθα υἱὸς αὐτῆς. καὶ αὕτῃ δ' ἐν τινι πλησίον ἵδρυτο χωρίῳ. πρεσβευσαμένης δὲ περὶ φιλίας καὶ ἀποδοῦσης τοὺς ἐκ Σύνης αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας, ἐπελθὼν λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ Νάπατα, φυγόντος τοῦ παιδός, καὶ κατασκάπτει· ἐξανδραποδισά-

<sup>1</sup> For ἐμβάιντας, Jones conj. ἐμβαλόντας.



μενος δ' ἀναστρέφει πάλιν εἰς τοῦπίσω μετὰ τῶν  
 λαφύρων, δύσοδα κρίνας τὰ προσωτέρω. τὴν δὲ  
 Πρῆμινω τειχίσας βέλτιον, φρουρὰν ἐμβαλὼν καὶ  
 τροφὴν δυνεῖν ἐνιαυτῶν τετρακοσίοις ἀνδράσιν,  
 ἀπῆρεν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων  
 C 821 τοὺς μὲν ἐλαφυροπώλησε, χιλίους δὲ Καίσαρι  
 ἔπεμψε νεωστὶ ἐκ Καντάβρων ἦκουτι, τοὺς δὲ  
 νόσοι διεχρήσαντο. ἐν τούτῳ μυριάσι Κανδύκη  
 πολλαῖς ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐπῆλθε· Πιτρώνιος δ'  
 ἐξεβοήθησε καὶ φθάνει προσελθὼν<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὸ φρού-  
 ριον, καὶ πλείοσι παρασκευαῖς ἐξασφαλισάμενος  
 τὸν τόπον, πρεσβευσαμένων, ἐκέλευσεν ὡς Καί-  
 σαρα πρεσβεύεσθαι· οὐκ εἰδέναι δὲ φασκόντων,  
 ὅστις εἴη Καῖσαρ καὶ ὅπη βαδιστέον εἴη παρ'  
 αὐτόν, ἔδωκε τοὺς παραπέμψοντας· καὶ ἦκου εἰς  
 Σάμον, ἐνταῦθα τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄντος καὶ μέλλοντος  
 εἰς Συρίαν ἐντεύθειν προῖέναι, Τιβέριον εἰς Ἀρ-  
 μένιαν στέλλοντος. πάντων δὲ τυχόντων, ὧν  
 ἐδέοντο, ἀφήκεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς φόρους, οὓς  
 ἐπέστησε.

## II

1. Πολλὰ δ' εἴρηται περὶ τῶν Λίθιοπικῶν ἐν  
 τοῖς πρότερον, ὥστε συμπεριωδευμένα ἂν εἴη τῇ  
 Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὰ τούτων. ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, τὰ ἄκρα  
 τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ παρακείμενα τῇ δυσκράτῳ καὶ  
 ἀοικήτῳ διὰ καῦμα ἢ ψύχος ἀνάγκη ἀποτεύγματα  
 εἶναι τῆς εὐκράτου καὶ ἐλαττώματα· ταῦτα δ'

<sup>1</sup> προσελθὼν F and first hand in D, προσεισελθὼν C, προεισ-  
 ελθὼν other MSS.

ground; and having enslaved its inhabitants, he turned back again with the booty, having decided that the regions farther on would be hard to traverse. But he fortified Premnis better, threw in a garrison and food for four hundred men for two years, and set out for Alexandria. As for the captives, he sold some of them as booty, and sent one thousand to Caesar, who had recently returned from Cantabria; and the others died of diseases. Meantime Candacé marched against the garrison with many thousands of men, but Petronius set out to its assistance and arrived at the fortress first; and when he had made the place thoroughly secure by sundry devices, ambassadors came, but he bade them go to Caesar; and when they asserted that they did not know who Caesar was or where they should have to go to find him, he gave them escorts; and they went to Samos, since Caesar was there and intended to proceed to Syria from there, after despatching Tiberius to Armenia. And when the ambassadors had obtained everything they pled for, he even remitted the tributes which he had imposed.

## II

1. In the earlier parts of my work I have already said many things about the Aethiopian<sup>1</sup> tribes, so that the description of their country may be said to be included with that of Aegypt. In general, the extremities of the inhabited world, which lie alongside the part of the earth that is not temperate and habitable, because of heat or cold, must needs be defective and inferior to the temperate part;

<sup>1</sup> See *Index*, s.v. "Aethiopians."



ἐκ τῶν βίων δῆλα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὰς χρείας τὰς ἀνθρωπικὰς ἀπορίας. κακόβιοί τε δὴ καὶ γυμνή-  
 τές εἰσι τὰ πολλὰ καὶ νομάδες· τά τε βοσκήματα  
 αὐτοῖς ἐστί μικρά, πρόβατα καὶ αἴγες καὶ βόες·  
 καὶ κύνες μικροί, τραχεῖς<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ μάχιμοι.  
 τάχα δὲ καὶ τοὺς Πυγμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς τούτων  
 μικροφυΐας ὑπενόησαν καὶ ἀνέπλασαν· ἑωρακῶς  
 μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐξηγεῖται τῶν πίστεως ἀξίων  
 ἀνδρῶν.

2. Ζῶσί τ' ἀπὸ κέγχρου καὶ κριθῆς, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ  
 ποτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν ἀντ' ἐλαίου δέ<sup>2</sup> βούτυρον καὶ  
 στέαρ· οὐδ' ἀκρόδρυα ἔχουσι πλὴν φοινίκων  
 ὀλίγων ἐν κήποις βασιλικοῖς· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ πόαν  
 σιτοῦνται καὶ κλῶνας ἀπαλούς καὶ λωτὸν καὶ  
 καλάμου ῥίζαν· κρέασι δὲ χρῶνται καὶ αἵματι  
 καὶ γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ. σέβονται δ' ὡς θεοὺς  
 τοὺς βασιλέας, κατακλείστους ὄντας καὶ οἰκουροὺς  
 τὸ πλεον. ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγιστον αὐτοῖς βασί-  
 λειον ἡ Μερόη, πόλις ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ. τὴν  
 δὲ νήσον θυρεοειδῆ φασὶ τὸ σχῆμα, τό τε μέγεθος  
 τάχα πρὸς ὑπερβολὴν εἴρηται μῆκος μὲν ὅσον  
 τρισχιλίων σταδίων, εὖρος δὲ χιλίων. ἔχει δ' ἡ  
 νῆσος<sup>3</sup> συχνὰ καὶ ὄρη καὶ δάση μεγάλα· οἰκοῦσι  
 δ' οἱ μὲν νομάδες, οἱ δὲ θηρευτικοί, οἱ δὲ γεωργοί·  
 ἔστι δὲ καὶ χαλκωρυχεῖα καὶ σιδηρουργεῖα καὶ  
 χρυσεῖα καὶ λίθων γένη πολυτελῶν· περιέχεται δ'  
 ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Λιβύης θισὶ μεγάλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς  
 Ἀραβίας κρημνοῖς συνεχέσιν, ἀνωθεν δ' ἐκ νότου

<sup>1</sup> ταχεῖς Bo, perhaps rightly.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. read ποτὸν ποιούσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν· ἐλαίον δὲ κτλ.,  
 except that α omits ἐστὶν. Corais reads ποτὸν αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν·  
 ἀντὶ δὲ ἐλαίου κτλ.; but Jones reads as above, copying the  
 phrase ἀντ' ἐλαίου δέ from 3, 3. 7.

and this is clear from the modes of life of the inhabitants and from their lack of human necessities. They indeed live a hard life, go almost naked, and are nomads; and their domestic animals—sheep, goats, and cattle—are small; and their dogs are small though rough<sup>1</sup> and pugnacious. And perhaps it is from the natural smallness of the people that men have conceived of Pygmies and fabricated them; for no man worthy of belief professes to have seen them.

2. The Aethiopians live on millet and barley, from which they also make a drink; but instead of olive-oil they have butter and tallow. Neither do they have fruit trees, except a few date-palms in the royal gardens. But some use grass as food, as also tender twigs, lotus, and reed-roots; and they use meats, blood, milk, and cheese. They reverence as gods their kings, who generally stay shut up at home. Their greatest royal seat is Meroë, a city bearing the same name as the island. The island is said to be like an oblong shield in shape. Its size has perhaps been exaggerated: about three thousand stadia in length and one thousand in breadth. The island has both numerous mountains and large thickets; it is inhabited partly by nomads, partly by hunters, and partly by farmers; and it has mines of copper, iron, gold, and different kinds<sup>2</sup> of precious stones. It is bounded on the Libyan side by large sand-dunes, and on the Arabian side by continuous

<sup>1</sup> Possibly an error for "swift" (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> Diodorus Siculus (1. 33) says "*all kinds* of precious stones."

<sup>3</sup> ἡ νῆσος is omitted by all MSS. except F; E reads ἡ Μερόη.

Ο 822 ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν ποταμῶν, τοῦ τε Ἀσταβόρα<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ Ἀστάποδος καὶ τοῦ Ἀστασόβα· πρὸς ἄρκτον δ' ἡ ἐφεξῆς ῥύσις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ μέχρι Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν λεχθείσαν πρότερον σκολιότητα τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς πόλεσιν αἱ οἰκῆσεις ἐκ φοινικίνων σχιζῶν διαπλεκομένων<sup>2</sup> ἢ πλίνθων. ὀρυκτοὶ δὲ ἅλεις, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς Ἀραψι· πλεονάζει δὲ τῶν φυτῶν ὃ τε φοῖνιξ καὶ ἡ περσέα καὶ ὁ ἔβενος καὶ ἡ κερατία·<sup>3</sup> θήρα δὲ καὶ ἐλεφάντων ἐστὶ καὶ λεόντων καὶ παρδαλέων· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δράκοντες οἱ ἐλεφαντομάχοι καὶ ἄλλα θηρία πλείω· καταφεύγει γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμπυρρωτέρων καὶ αὐχμηροτέρων ἐπὶ τὰ ὑδρηλὰ καὶ ἐλώδη.

3. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Μερόης ἡ Ψεβώ, λίμνη μεγάλη νήσον ἔχουσα οἰκουμένην ἱκανῶς. συμβαίνει δὲ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν μὲν δυσμικὴν παραποταμίαν ἐχόντων τῶν Λιβύων, τὴν δὲ πέραν Αἰθιοπῶν, παρὰ μέρος αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν εἶναι τῶν νήσων καὶ τῆς ποταμίας, ἐξελαυνομένων τῶν ἐτέρων καὶ παραχωρούντων τοῖς κρείττοσι γενομένοις. χρῶνται δὲ καὶ τόξοις Αἰθίοπες τετραπήχεσι ξυλίνοις πεπυρακτωμένοις·<sup>4</sup> ὀπλίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὧν αἱ πλείους κεκρίκωνται τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ στόματος χαλκῷ κρίκῳ· κωδιοφόροι δ' εἰσὶν, ἐρέαν οὐκ ἔχοντες, τῶν προβάτων αἰγοτριχούντων· οἱ δὲ γυμνήτες εἰσιν, οἱ καὶ<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ἀσταβόρα F, Ἀσταβάρα other MSS.

for διαπλεκόμεναι, after which other MSS. τοίχων ἢ πλίνθων. J. Müller, rejects τοίχων.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἡ κερατία ποικίλη, καὶ κεράτια other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> On a conjectural omission here, see C. Müller, *Ind. Var. Lect.* p. 1042.

precipices, and above, on the south, by the confluences of the three rivers—the Astaboras, and the Astapus and the Astasobas<sup>1</sup>—and on the north by the next course of the Nile, which extends to Aegypt along the aforesaid windings of the river. In the cities the dwellings are made of split pieces of palm-wood woven together, or of brick. And they have quarried salt, as do the Arabians. And, among the plants, the palm, the *persea*,<sup>2</sup> the ebony, and the *ceratia*<sup>3</sup> are found in abundance. And they have, not only elephants to hunt, but also lions and leopards. They also have serpents, the elephant-fighters, as also many other wild animals; for the animals flee for refuge from the hotter and more arid regions to those that are watery and marshy.

3. Above Meroë lies Psebo, a large lake containing an island that is rather well settled. And since the Libyans hold the land on the western side of the Nile and the Aethiopians that on the opposite side, it comes to pass that they take turns in dominating the islands and the river-land, one of the two being driven out and yielding place to those who have proved stronger. The Aethiopians also use bows, which are four cubits long, are made of wood, and are hardened by fire; and they arm the women also, most of whom . . . the lip; and they wear sh . . . no wool, their sheep having hair like that of goats; and some go naked, or wear round their loins small sheep-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 17. 1. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This tree is carefully described by Pliny (*N. H.*, 13. 17).

<sup>3</sup> The *carob* or *locust-tree*.

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<sup>5</sup> *ot* *kal* EFh, *†* *kal* other MSS., perhaps rightly.

περιέζωνται μικρὰ κώδια ἢ τρίχυνα πλέγματα  
 εὐνφῇ. θεὸν δὲ νομίζουσι τὸν μὲν ἀθάνατον, τοῦ-  
 τον δ' εἶναι τὸν αἴτιον τῶν πάντων, τὸν δὲ  
 θνητόν, ἀνώνυμόν τινα καὶ οὐ σαφῇ. ὥς δ' ἐπὶ  
 τὸ πολὺ τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ βασιλικούς θεοὺς  
 νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν βασιλέας κοινούς  
 ἀπάντων σωτήρας καὶ φύλακας, τοὺς δ' ἰδιώτας  
 ἰδίως τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν. τῶν δὲ πρὸς  
 τῇ διακεκαυμένη τινὲς καὶ ἄθεοι νομίζονται, οὓς  
 γε καὶ τὸν ἥλιόν φασιν ἐχθαίρειν καὶ κακῶς  
 λέγειν, ἐπειδὰν προσίδωσιν ἀνίσχοντα, ὥς καίοντα  
 καὶ πολεμοῦντα αὐτοῖς, καταφεύγειν τε εἰς τὰ  
 ἔλη. οἱ δ' ἐν Μερόῃ καὶ Ἰρακλέα καὶ Πᾶνα καὶ  
 Ἴσιω σέβονται πρὸς ἄλλῃ τινὶ βαρβαρικῇ θεῷ.  
 τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκρίπτου-  
 σιν, οἱ δ' οἴκοι κατέχουσι περιχέαντες ὕαλον.  
 τινὲς δὲ ἐν κεραμίαις σοροῖς κατορύττουσι κύκλῳ  
 τῶν ἱερῶν, ὅρκον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπαιτοῦσι  
 καὶ πάντων ἀγιστεύουσι μάλιστα. βασιλέας τε  
 καθιστᾶσι τοὺς κάλλει διαφέροντας ἢ ἀρετῇ  
 κτηνοτροφίας ἢ ἀνδρείᾳ ἢ πλούτῳ. ἐν δὲ τῇ  
 Μερόῃ κυριωτάτην τάξιν ἐπέειχον οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ  
 παλαιόν, οἳ γε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσέταττον ἔσθ'  
 ὅτε ἀποθνήσκειν πέμψαντες ἄγγελον καὶ κα-  
 C 823 θίστασαν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον. ὕστερον δὲ κατέλυσέ  
 τις τῶν βασιλέων τὸ ἔθος, ἐπιὼν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐπὶ  
 τὸ ἱερόν, ὅπου ὁ χρυσοὺς νεῶς ἐστι, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἱερέας ἀποσφάζας πάντας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus Siculus (3. 39) names Zeus in connection with the three others.

<sup>2</sup> See 17. 1. 8 and footnote on "glass."

skins or girdles of well-woven hair. They regard as god the immortal being, whom they consider the cause of all things, and also the mortal being, who is without name and not to be identified. But in general they regard their benefactors and royal personages as gods: of these the kings as the common saviours and guardians of all, and special individuals as in a special sense gods to those who have received benefactions from them. Among those who live near the torrid zone, some are considered atheists, since it is said that they hate even the sun, and revile it when they behold it rising, on the ground that it burns them and carries on war with them, and flee for refuge from it into the marshes. The inhabitants of Meroë worship Heracles, Pan, and Isis, in addition to some other, barbaric, god.<sup>1</sup> As for the dead, some cast them into the river, others enclose them in glass<sup>2</sup> and keep them at home; but some bury them around the temples in coffins made of clay; and they exact fulfilment of oaths sworn over the dead,<sup>3</sup> and consider them the most sacred of all things. They appoint as kings those who excel in beauty, or in superiority in cattle-breeding, or in courage, or in wealth. In Meroë the highest rank was in ancient times held by the priests, who indeed would give orders even to the king, sometimes ordering him through a messenger to die, and would appoint another in his stead; but later one of the kings broke up the custom by marching with armed men against the temple where the golden shrine is and slaughtering all the priests. The following is also an Aethiopian

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* they make the oath binding by invoking the dead as witnesses.

ἔθος Αἰθιοπικόν· ὃς γὰρ ἂν τῶν βασιλέων πηρωθῇ μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος ὁπωσοῦν τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσχουσιν οἱ συνόντες αὐτῷ μάλιστα, οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ καὶ συναποθνήσκουσιν· ἐκ δὲ τούτου φυλακὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐστὶ πλείστη παρ' αὐτῶν. περὶ μὲν Αἰθιοπῶν ἀρκέσει ταῦτα.

4. Τοῖς δ' Αἰγυπτιακοῖς καὶ ταῦτα προσθετέον ὅσα ἰδιάζοντα, ὅλον ὁ Αἰγύπτιος λεγόμενος κύαμος ἐξ οὗ τὸ κιβώριον, καὶ ἡ βύβλος· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ καὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς μόνον· ἡ δὲ περσέα ἐνταῦθα μόνον καὶ παρ' Αἰθίοψι, δένδρον μέγα, καρπὸν ἔχον γλυκὺν καὶ μέγαν, καὶ ἡ συκάμινος ἡ ἐκφέρουσα τὸν λεγόμενον καρπὸν συκόμορον· σύκῳ γὰρ ἔοικεν, ἄτιμον δ' ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν γεῦσιν· γίνεται δὲ καὶ τὸ κόρσιον καὶ ὁμοίον τι<sup>1</sup> πεπέρει<sup>2</sup> τράγημα, μικρῷ αὐτοῦ μείζον. ἰχθύες δ' ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι χαρακτηῖρα ἔχοντες ἴδιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον, γνωριμώτατοι δὲ ὁ τε ὀξύρυγχος καὶ ὁ λεπιδωτός καὶ λάτος καὶ ἀλάβης καὶ κορακῖνος καὶ χοῖρος καὶ φαγρώριος, ὃν καὶ φάγρον καλοῦσιν, ἔτι σίλουρος, κιθαρός, θρίσσα, κεστρεύς, λύχνος, φύσα, βοῦς· ὀστρακίων δὲ κοχλῖαι<sup>3</sup> μεγάλοι, φωνὴν ὁλολυγόσιν ὁμοίαν φθεγγόμενοι· ζῷα δ' ἐπιχώρια καὶ ὁ ἰχνεύμων καὶ ἡ ἄσπις ἡ Αἰγυπτία, ἴδιον τι<sup>5</sup> ἔχουσα παρὰ τὰς ἐν ἄλλοις· διττὴ δ' ἐστίν, ἡ μὲν σπιθαμιαία, ἡ περ καὶ ὀξυθανατωτέρα, ἡ δ' ἐγγυὺς ὀργυιᾶς, ὡς

<sup>1</sup> τό F, τῇ CDhi, τῷ other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> πεπέρει CE, πέπερι other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> The text follows Corais. E reads ὀστράκων δὲ λύχνος, φύσα, βοῦς, κοχλῖαι; other MSS. ὀστρακίων δὲ λύχνος. φύσα (F φύσσα), βοῦς, κοχλῖαι.

<sup>4</sup> δ', Corais inserts.

custom: whenever any one of the kings is maimed in any part of his body in any way whatever, his closest associates suffer the same thing, and they even die with him; and hence these men guard the king most carefully. This will suffice on the subject of the Aethiopians.

4. But to my account of things Aegyptian I must add an enumeration of the things that are peculiar to that country, as, for example, the Aegyptian *cyamus*,<sup>1</sup> as it is called, from which *ciborium* is derived, and the *byblus*, for the *byblus* is found only here and among the Indians; and the *persea*<sup>2</sup> is found only here and among the Aethiopians—a large tree with large, sweet fruit; and the *sycaminus* that produces the fruit called *sycomorus*, for it resembles a *sycum*,<sup>3</sup> though it is not prized for its taste; and the *corsium* is also found here—a relish somewhat like pepper, but slightly larger. As for fish in the Nile, they are indeed many in number and different in kind, with a special indigenous character, but the best known are the *oxyrynchus* and the *lepidotus*, *latus*, *alabes*, *coracinus*, *choerus*, and *phagrorius*, also called *phagrus*, and, besides, the *silurus*, *citharus*, *thrissa*, *cestreus*, *lychnus*, *physa*, and *bos*; and, among shell-creatures, there are large *conchliae* which emit a sound like a croak. As for indigenous animals, Aegypt has also the ichneumon and the Aegyptian asp, which latter has a peculiarity as compared with the asp of other countries; but it is of two kinds, one only a span long, which causes a quicker death, and the other nearly a fathom, as is stated by

<sup>1</sup> See 17. 1. 15.

<sup>2</sup> See § 2 above.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "fig."

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<sup>5</sup> Ἰδιόν τι Ε, Ἰδιον δέ τι other MSS.



καὶ Νίκανδρος ὁ τὰ Θηριακὰ γράψας εἴρηκε.  
καὶ τῶν ὀρνέων ἱβὶς καὶ ἰέραξ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος,  
ἡμερος παρὰ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς ἄλλοθι, ὡς καὶ ἡ αἴλουρος.  
καὶ ὁ<sup>2</sup> νυκτικόραξ ἰδιότροπος ἐνθάδε· παρ' ἡμῖν  
μὲν γὰρ αἰετοῦ μέγεθος ἴσχει καὶ φθέγγεται βαρύν,  
ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ κολοιοῦ μέγεθος καὶ φθογγὴ  
διάφορος. ἡμερώτατον δ' ἡ ἱβὶς, πελαργώδης  
μὲν κατὰ σχῆμα καὶ μέγεθος, διττὴ δὲ τὴν χροάν,  
ἡ μὲν πελαργώδης, ἡ δὲ ὅλη μέλαινα. μεστὴ δ'  
αὐτῶν ἅπαντα τρίδος ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, πῇ μὲν  
χρησίμως, πῇ δ' οὐ χρησίμως· χρησίμως μὲν,  
ὅτι πᾶν<sup>3</sup> θηρίου ἐκλέγει καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς κρεω-  
πωλίοις καὶ τοῖς ὀψοπωλίοις<sup>4</sup> ἀποκαθάρματα·  
δυσχρήστως δέ, ὅτι παμφάγον καὶ ἀκάθαρτον καὶ  
δυσκόλως ἀπειργόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν καθαρίων καὶ  
τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μολυσμοῦ παντός.

β. Ἀληθὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ<sup>5</sup> Ἡροδότου καὶ ἐστὶν  
Αἰγυπτιακὸν τὸ τὸν μὲν πηλὸν ταῖς χερσὶ φυρᾶν,  
τὸ δὲ στέαρ<sup>6</sup> τὸ εἰς τὴν ἄρτοποιίαν τοῖς ποσί.  
C 824 καὶ οἱ κάκει<sup>7</sup> δὲ ἰδιὸν τι ἄρτου γένος, στατικὸν  
κοιλίας, καὶ τὸ κῖκι καρπὸς τις σπειρόμενος ἐν  
ἀρούραις, ἐξ οὗ ἔλαιον ἀποθλίβεται εἰς μὲν  
λύχνον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας σχεδὸν τι πᾶσιν, εἰς  
ἄλειμμα δὲ τοῖς πενεστέροις καὶ ἐργατικωτέροις

<sup>1</sup> ἡμερος παρὰ E, ἡμερος γὰρ παρὰ other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ Oz, ἡ other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> After πᾶν, Jones conj. that πῆμονα has fallen out of the text.

<sup>4</sup> ὀσοπωλίοις Casaubon, ὀσοπώλαις E, ὀσοπώλεσιν other MSS. τοῦ OEFh.

<sup>5</sup> στέας DF, σταῖς second hand Dh, as in Herodotus 2. 30.

<sup>7</sup> οἱ κάκης E, κυλλάσταις conj. Dindorf in *Thesaurus*, s.v.

<sup>1</sup> *Theriaca* 168.

<sup>2</sup> A poem on poisonous animals, as the name implies.

Nicander,<sup>1</sup> who wrote the *Theriaca*.<sup>2</sup> Among the birds are found the ibis and the Aegyptian *hierax*, which latter is tame, like the cat, as compared with those elsewhere; and also the *nycticorax*<sup>3</sup> is here of a peculiar species, for in our country it has the size of an eagle and a harsh caw, but in Aegypt the size of a jackdaw and a different caw. The ibis, however, is the tamest bird; it is like a stork in shape and size, but it is of two kinds in colour, one kind like the stork and the other black all over.<sup>4</sup> Every cross-road in Alexandria is full of them; and though they are useful in one way, they are not useful in another. The bird is useful because it singles out every<sup>5</sup> animal<sup>6</sup> and the refuse in the meat-shops and bakeries, but not useful because it eats everything, is unclean, and can only with difficulty be kept away from things that are clean and do not admit of any defilement.

5. The statement of Herodotus<sup>7</sup> is also true, that it is an Aegyptian custom to knead mud with their hands, but suet for bread-making with their feet. Further, *kakeis* is a peculiar kind of bread which checks the bowels; and *kiki* is a kind of fruit sown in the fields, from which oil is pressed, which is used not only in lamps by almost all the people in the country, but also for anointing the body by the poorer classes and those who do the heavier labour,

<sup>2</sup> i.e. "night-crow."

<sup>4</sup> The former is the White or Sacred Ibis; it regularly visits Aegypt at the time of the inundation, coming from Nubia.

<sup>5</sup> Th. . . . . "eful" has fallen out of the . . . . . te).

<sup>6</sup> e.g. . . . . . ions (Aelian 10. 29), locusts . . . . . 1. 87).

<sup>7</sup> 2. 36.

καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξί. καὶ τὰ κοῦκινα<sup>1</sup> δὲ πλέγματα Αἰγυπτιακά ἐστι, φυτοῦ τινος, ὅμοια τοῖς σχοινίοις ἢ φοινικίνοις. τὸ δὲ ζύθος<sup>2</sup> ἰδίως μὲν σκευάζεται παρ' ἐκείνοις, κοινὸν δ' ἐστὶ πολλοῖς, καὶ παρ' ἐκάστοις δὲ αἱ σκευασίαι διάφοροι. καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν μάλιστα ζηλουμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ πάντα τρέφειν τὰ γεννώμενα παιδία καὶ τὸ περιτέμνειν καὶ τὰ θήλεα ἐκτέμνειν, ὅπερ καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις νόμιμον· καὶ οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν, καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐκείνων λόγῳ. φησὶ δ' Ἀριστόβουλος, ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης μηδὲν ἀνατρέχειν ὄψον εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον πλὴν κεστρέως καὶ θρίσσης καὶ δελφίνος διὰ τοὺς κροκοδείλους· τοὺς μὲν δελφίνας διὰ τὸ κρείττους εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κεστρέας τῷ παραπέμπεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν χοίρων παρὰ γῆν κατὰ τινα οἰκείωσιν φυσικῇ· τῶν δὲ χοίρων ἀπέχεσθαι τοὺς κροκοδείλους, στρογγύλων ὄντων καὶ ἐχόντων ἀκάνθας ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ φερούσας κίνδυνον τοῖς θηρίοις· ἀναθεῖν μὲν οὖν ἕαρος τοὺς κεστρέας γόνον ἔχοντας, μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ δύσεως Ἰλειαδος καταβαίνειν τεξομένους ἀθρόους, ὅτε καὶ ἡ ἄλωσις αὐτῶν γίνεται περιπιπτόντων τοῖς φράγμασιν ἀθρόων.<sup>3</sup> τοιαύτην δὲ τινα εἰκάζειν ἔστι καὶ περὶ τῆς θρίσσης αἰτίαν. ταῦτα καὶ περὶ Αἰγύπτου.

<sup>1</sup> κοῦκινα (textures "made of the coix-palm"), Casaubon and Meineke, for κόκκινα; but Kramer prefers κούκινα ("made from the coco-palm").

<sup>2</sup> ζύθος Bw, ζύγος other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἀθρόων Dli, ἀθρόον other MSS.

both men and women; and further, the *koikina*<sup>1</sup> are Aegyptian textures made of some plant, and are like those made of rush or the date-palm. And beer is prepared in a peculiar way among the Aegyptians; it is a drink common to many peoples, but the ways of preparing it in the different countries are different. One of the customs most zealously observed among the Aegyptians is this, that they rear every child that is born, and circumeise the males, and excise the females,<sup>2</sup> as is also customary among the Jews, who are also Aegyptians in origin, as I have already stated in my account of them.<sup>3</sup> Aristobulus says that on account of the crocodiles no fish swim up into the Nile from the sea except the *cestreus* and the *thrissa* and the dolphin—the dolphin, because it is stronger than the crocodile, and the *cestreus*, because it is escorted by the *choeri*<sup>4</sup> along the bank, in accordance with some natural affinity; and that the crocodiles keep away from the *choeri*, since the latter are round and have spines on the head which offer danger to the beasts. Now the *cestreus*, he says, runs up the river in spring when it is carrying its spawn, but for the purpose of spawning comes down in schools before the setting of the Pleiad, at which time they are captured, being caught in schools by the fenced enclosures. And some such cause might be conjectured also in the case of the *thrissa*. So much for Aegypt.

<sup>1</sup> See critical note.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* remove portions of the *nymphae*, and sometimes of the *clitoris*, of the females. The operation is harmless, and analogous to that of circumcision.

<sup>3</sup> 18. 2. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* "pig" fish (see Athenaeus 6).

Περὶ δὲ Λιβύης ἐφεξῆς λέγωμεν, ὅπερ λείπεται μέρος τῆς συμπάσης γεωγραφίας.<sup>1</sup> εἴρηται μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον πολλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ὅσα καίρια προσυπομνηστέον, προστιθέντας<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα πρότερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἡπείρους τὴν οἰκουμένην διελόντες ἀνίσως διεῖλον, ἐμφαίνει γὰρ τὸ τριχῇ τὸ εἰς τρία ἴσα, τοσοῦτο δ' ἀπολείπεται τοῦ τρίτου εἶναι μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡ Λιβύη, ὥστε καὶ συντεθείσα μετὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης οὐκ ἂν ἐξισάζειν δόξειε τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. τάχα δὲ καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐλάττων ἐστί, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολλῶ τιμι, ἔρημος γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πολλὴ τῆς μεσογαίας καὶ τῆς παρωκεανίτιδος, κατοικίαις δὲ κατὰστικτός ἐστι μικραῖς, καὶ σποράσι καὶ νομαδικαῖς ταῖς πλείσταις· πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρημίᾳ καὶ τὸ θηριοτρόφον ἐξελαύνει καὶ ἐκ τῆς δυναμένης οἰκεῖσθαι· πολὺ δὲ καὶ τῆς διακεκαυμένης ἐπιλαμβάνει ζώνης. ἡ μὲντοι καθ' ἡμᾶς εὐδαιμόνως οἰκεῖται πᾶσα παραλία ἡ μεταξὺ Νείλου καὶ Στηλῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίοις γενομένη· ἀνυδρίαι δὲ τινες κἂν ταῦθα παρεμπίπτουσιν, οἷαι περὶ τε τὰς Σύρτεις καὶ τοὺς Μαρμαρίδας καὶ τὸν Καταβαθμόν.

Ἔστι δὲ ὀρθογωνίου τριγώνου τὸ σχῆμα, ὡς ἂν τις ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ νοήσῃ, βάσιν μὲν ἔχον τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ

<sup>1</sup> γεωμετρίας CDEF.

<sup>2</sup> προστιθέντας F, προσθέντας other MSS.

## III

1. Next let me describe Libya, which is the only part left for the completion of my Geography as a whole. Now I have said much about this country before,<sup>1</sup> but I must now comment also on other matters in so far as they may be timely, adding what has not been said before. Now the writers who have divided the inhabited world according to continents have divided it unequally, for the threefold division indicates a division into three equal parts; but Libya lacks so much of being a third part of the inhabited world that even if it were combined with Europe it would seem not to be equal to Asia. Perhaps it is even smaller than Europe; and in power it is much inferior, for the greater part of the interior and of its ocean-coast is desert, and it is dotted with settlements that are small, scattered, and mostly nomadic; and in addition to its deserts, its being a nursery of wild beasts drives out people even from land that could be inhabited; and it overlaps a considerable part of the torrid zone. However, the whole of the coast opposite to us, I mean that between the Nile and the Pillars, and particularly the part which was subject to the Carthaginians, is settled and prosperous; but here too some parts here and there are destitute of water, as, for example, in the regions about the Syrtes, the Marmaridae,<sup>2</sup> and Catabathmus.

Libya has the shape of a right-angled triangle, conceived of as drawn on a plane surface, having as base the coast opposite us, from Aegypt and the

<sup>2</sup> See § 23 following.

Νείλου μέχρι Μαυρουσίας καὶ Στηλῶν, πρὸς ὀρθὰς δὲ ταύτῃ πλευράν, ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος ποιεῖ μέχρι Αἰθιοπίας, προσεκβαλλόντων ἡμῶν ἕως Ὀκεανοῦ, τὴν δ' ὑποτείνουσιν τῇ ὀρθῇ τὴν παρωκεανῆτιν ἅπασαν τὴν μεταξὺ Αἰθιοπῶν καὶ Μαυρουσίων. τὸ μὲν οὖν κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ λεχθέντος σχήματος, ἥδη πῶς ὑποπίπτει τῇ διακεκαυμένη, λέγομεν ἐξ εἰκασμοῦ διὰ τὸ ἀπρόσιτον, ὥστ' οὐδὲ τὸ μέγιστον πλάτος τῆς χώρας ἔχοιμεν ἂν λέγειν· τὸ μέντοι τοσοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις ἔφαμεν, ὅτι ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς Μερὸν τὸ βασίλειον τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν πρὸς νότον ἰόντι στάδιοί εἰσι περὶ μυρίους, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τῆς διακεκαυμένης καὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἄλλοι τρισχίλιοι. τὸ γοῦν αὐτὸ θετέον τὸ μέγιστον πλάτος τῆς Λιβύης, μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους ἢ τετρακισχιλίους στάδιους, μῆκος δὲ μικρῷ ἔλαττον ἢ διπλασίον. τὰ καθ' ὅλου μὲν ταῦτα περὶ Λιβύης· τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα δὲ λεκτέον, ἀρξαμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανεστέρων.

2. Οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐνταῦθα Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, Μαῦροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων,<sup>1</sup> Λιβυκὸν ἔθνος μέγα καὶ εὐδαιμον, ἀντίπορθμον τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλείους πορθμός ἐστι, περὶ οὗ πολλὰ εἴρηται. ἔξω δὲ προσελθόντι τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμοῦ, τὴν Λιβύην ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχοντι ὄρος ἐστίν, ὅπερ οἱ μὲν Ἑλληνας Ἀτλαντα καλοῦσιν, οἱ βάρβαροι δὲ Δύριν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ πρόπους ἔκκεται τις

<sup>1</sup> Μαῦροι . . . ἐπιχωρίων, Kramer transfers from a position after εὐδαιμον.

Nile to Maurusia and the Pillars, and as the side perpendicular to this that which is formed by the Nile as far as Aethiopia and by me produced to the ocean, and as the side subtending the right angle the whole of the coast between the Aethiopians and the Maurusians. Now as for the part at the very vertex of the above-mentioned figure, which begins approximately with the torrid zone, I speak only from conjecture, because it is inaccessible, so that I cannot tell even its maximum breadth, although in a previous part of my work<sup>1</sup> I have said thus much, that, as one goes southward from Alexandria to Meroë, the royal seat of the Aethiopians, the distance is about ten thousand stadia, and from there in a straight line to the boundaries between the torrid zone and the inhabited world three thousand more. At any rate, the same should be put down as the maximum breadth of Libya, I mean thirteen or fourteen thousand stadia, and a little less than double that sum as the length. This, then, is my account of Libya as a whole, but I must describe it in detail, beginning with its western, or more famous, parts.

2. Here dwell a people whom the Greeks call Maurusians, and the Romans and the natives Mauri—a large and prosperous Libyan tribe, who live on the side of the strait opposite Iberia. Here also is the strait which is at the Pillars of Heracles, concerning which I have often spoken. On proceeding outside the strait at the Pillars, with Libya on the left, one comes to a mountain which the Greeks call Atlas and the barbarians Dyris. From this mountain pro-

<sup>1</sup> 1. 4. 2.



ὑστατος πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Μαυρουσίας αἱ Κώτεις λεγόμεναι· πλησίον δὲ καὶ πολίχνιον μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, ὅπερ Τίγγα<sup>1</sup> καλοῦσιν οἱ βάρβαροι, Λύγγα<sup>2</sup> δ' ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος προσηγόρευκε, Ἐρατοσθένους δὲ Λίξον· κείται δ' ἀντιπορθμον τοῖς Γαδείροις ἐν διάρματι σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων, ὅσον ἐκάτερα διέχει τοῦ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμοῦ· πρὸς νότον δὲ τῇ Λίξῳ καὶ ταῖς Κώτεσι παράκειται κόλπος Ἐμπορικὸς καλούμενος, ἔχων Φοινικικὰς ἐμπορικὰς κατοικίας. ἔστι μὲν οὖν πᾶσα ἡ συνεχὴς τῷ κόλπῳ τούτῳ παραλία κολπώδης, ὑπεξαίρουμένῳ δὲ τοὺς κόλπους καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τὸ τριγωνοειδές, ὃ ὑπέγραψα, νοείσθω μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἑω λαμβάνουσα τὴν αὔξησιν ἢ ἡπειρος. τὸ δ' ὄρος διὰ μέσης ἐκτεινόμενον τῆς Μαυρουσίας τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Κώτεων μέχρι καὶ Σύρτεων οἰκεῖται καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ ἄλλα παράλληλα αὐτῇ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ἐν βάθει δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν Λιβυκῶν ἐθνῶν, οἳ Γαίτουλοι λέγονται.

3. Πλείστα δὲ πλάσματα τῇ Λιβυκῇ παραλίᾳ τῇ ἐκτὸς προσεψεύσαντο οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁφέλα<sup>3</sup> περίπλου· περὶ ὧν ἐμνήσθημένον καὶ πρότερον, καὶ νῦν δὲ λέγομεν, συγγνώμην αἰτούμενοι τῆς τερατολογίας, εἴαν που βιασθῶμεν

<sup>1</sup> Τρίγκα E.

<sup>2</sup> Λύγκα E.

<sup>3</sup> Ὁφρύα Ald.; Tyrwhitt conj. Ἀπέλλα.

<sup>1</sup> The same as Tingis (3. 1. 8).

<sup>2</sup> Strabo is confusing Tingis (now Tangiers) with Lynx or Lixus (now El Araisch or Larasch); see § 8 following.

<sup>3</sup> Cadiz.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "Mercantile."

jects a farthermost spur, as it were, towards the west of Maurusia—the Coteis, as it is called; and near by is a small town above the sea which the barbarians call Tinx,<sup>1</sup> though Artemidorus has given it the name Lynx and Eratosthenes Lixus.<sup>2</sup> It is situated across the strait opposite Gadeira<sup>3</sup> at a distance of eight hundred stadia, which is about the distance of each of the two places from the strait at the Pillars. To the south of Lixus and the Coteis lies a gulf called the Emporicus<sup>4</sup> Gulf, which contains settlements of Phoenician merchants. Now the whole of the coast continuous with this gulf is indented by gulfs, but one should exclude from consideration the gulfs and the projections of land, in accordance with the triangular figure which I have suggested, and conceive rather of the continent as increasing in extent in the direction of the south and east.<sup>5</sup> The mountain,<sup>6</sup> which extends through the middle of Maurusia from the Coteis to the Syrtes, is inhabited, both itself and other mountains that run parallel with Maurusia, at first by the Maurusians but deep in the interior by the largest of the Libyan tribes, who are called Gaetulians.

3. The historians, beginning with *The Circumnavigation of Ophelas*,<sup>7</sup> have added numerous other fabrications in regard to the outside coast of Libya; and these I have already mentioned somewhere before,<sup>8</sup> but I am again speaking of them, asking pardon for introducing marvellous stories, if per-

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* this side forms the hypotenuse and runs in a southeasterly direction.

<sup>6</sup> Atlas.

<sup>7</sup> Ophelas of Cyrenê (Diodorus Siculus 18. 21, 20. 40-42, and Plutarch, *Demetrius* 14); see critical note.

<sup>8</sup> 1. 1. 5, and 3. 2. 13.

ἐκπεσεῖν εἰς τι τοιοῦτο, φεύγοντες τὸ πάντα σιγῇ παραπέμπειν καὶ τρόπον τινα πηροῦν<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἱστορίαν. φασὶ δ' οὖν τὸν Ἐμπορικὸν κόλπον αὐτρον ἔχειν εἴσω δεχόμενον τὴν θάλατταν ἐν ταῖς πλημμυρίσι μέχρι καὶ ἑπτὰ σταδίων, προκείμενον δὲ τούτου ταπεινὸν καὶ ὁμαλὸν χωρίον, ἔχον Ἡρακλέους βωμόν, ὃν οὐκ ἐπικλύζεσθαι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς πλημμυρίδος· ἐν δὲ δὴ τι τῶν πλασμάτων νομίζω τοῦτο. ἐγγὺς δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς κόλποις κατοικίας λέγεσθαι παλαιὰς Τυρίων, ἃς ἐρήμους εἶναι νῦν, οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ τριακοσίων πόλεων, ἃς οἱ Φαρούσιοι καὶ οἱ Νιγρῖται<sup>2</sup> ἐξεπόρθησαν· διέχειν δὲ τούτους τῆς Λυγγός φασιν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα ὁδόν.

4. Τὸ μέντοι τὴν Μαυρουσίαν εὐδαίμονα εἶναι<sup>3</sup> χώραν πλὴν ὀλίγης ἐρήμου καὶ ποταμοῖς τε καὶ λίμναις κεχορηγῆσθαι παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογεῖται. μεγαλόδενδρός τε καὶ πολύδενδρος ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐστὶ καὶ πᾶμφορος· τὰς γοῦν μονοξύλους τραπέζας ποικιλωτάτας καὶ μεγίστας ἐκείνη τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χορηγεῖ. τοὺς δὲ ποταμοὺς ἔχειν φασὶ καὶ κροκοδείλους καὶ ἄλλα γένη ζώων ἐμφερῇ τοῖς ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ· τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὰς τοῦ Νείλου πηγὰς πλησιάζειν οἴονται τοῖς ἄκροις τῆς Μαυρουσίας. ἐν ποταμῷ δὲ τινι γεννᾶσθαι βδέλλας ἐπταπῆχεις, κατατετρημένα ἐχούσας τὰ βραγχία, δι' ὧν ἀναπνέουσι. καὶ ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι περὶ  
 . . . . . φύεται δυσὶν ἀνδράσι τὸ  
 . . . . . βότρυν πηχυαῖόν πως

<sup>1</sup> τῆσδε F. — ἀποδοῖ other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Νιγρῖται F. — Νιγρῖται. 12, Νιγρῖται other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ἔχειν E.

chance I shall be forced to digress into a thing of that sort, since I am unwilling wholly to pass them over in silence and in a way to cripple my history. Now they say that the Emporicus Gulf has a cave which at the full tides admits the sea inside it for a distance of even seven stadia, and that in front of this gulf there is a low, level place containing an altar of Heracles, which, they say, is never inundated by the tide—and it is this that I regard as one of their fabrications. And nearly as bad as this is the statement that on the gulfs which come next after the Emporicus Gulf there were ancient settlements of Tyrians, now deserted—no fewer than three hundred cities, which were destroyed by the Pharusians and the Nigritae; and these people, they say, are at a distance of a thirty days' journey from Lynx.

4. However, it is agreed by all that Maurusia is a fertile country, except a small desert part, and is supplied with both lakes and rivers. It is surpassing in the size and in the number of its trees, and is also productive of everything; at any rate, this is the country which supplies the Romans with the tables that are made of one single piece of wood, very large and most variegated. The rivers are said to contain crocodiles, as also other kinds of animals similar to those in the Nile. Some think that even the sources of the Nile are near the extremities of Maurusia. And they say that in a certain river are found leeches<sup>1</sup> seven cubits long, with gills pierced through with holes, through which they breathe. They also say of this country that it produces a vine so thick that it can hardly be encircled by the arms of two men, and that it yields clusters of

<sup>1</sup> They meant leech-fish, i.e. lampreys.

ἀποδιδούσα· βοτάνη τε ὑψηλὴ πᾶσα καὶ λάχανον, οἶον<sup>1</sup> ἄρον<sup>2</sup> καὶ δρακόντιον, οἱ δὲ τῶν σταφυλίνων καυλοὶ καὶ ἵππομαράθου καὶ σκολύμων δωδεκαπήχεις, τὸ δὲ πᾶχος παλαιστῶν  
 C 827 τεττάρων· καὶ δρακόντων δὲ καὶ ἐλεφάντων καὶ δορκάδων καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν παραπλησίων ζώων, λεόντων τε καὶ παρδάλεων, παντοδαπὴ τροφὸς ἡ χώρα ἐστί. φέρει δὲ καὶ γαλῆς αἰλούροις ἴσας καὶ ὁμοίας, πλὴν ὅτι τὰ ῥύγχη προπέπτωκε μᾶλλον, πιθήκων τε πάμπολυ πλῆθος, περὶ ὧν καὶ Ποσειδώνιος εἴρηκεν, ὅτι πλέων ἐκ Γαδείρων εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προσενεχθεῖη τῇ Λιβυκῇ παραλίᾳ καὶ ἴδοι τῶν θηρίων μεστόν τινα τούτων ἀλιτενῇ δρυμόν, τῶν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι, τῶν δ' ἐπὶ γῆς, ἐχόντων ἐνίων καὶ σκύμνους καὶ ἐπεχόντων μαστόν· γελᾶν οὖν ὀρῶν βαρυμάστους, ἐνίους δὲ φαλακρούς, τοὺς δὲ κηλήτας καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἐπιφαίνοντας σίνη.

Β. Ὑπὲρ ταύτης δ' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἔξω θαλάττῃ ἡ τῶν ἑσπερίων καλουμένων Αἰθιοπῶν χώρα, κακῶς οἰκουμένη τὸ πλεόν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ καμηλοπαρδάλεις φησὶν Ἰφικράτης<sup>3</sup> γεννᾶσθαι καὶ ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους ῥίξεις, οἱ ταυροειδεῖς μὲν εἰσι τὴν μορφήν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀλκὴν τὴν πρὸς μάχην

<sup>1</sup> οἶον, Jones inserts (Groskurd οἶον τό).

<sup>2</sup> ἄρον, Corais, for νερόν.

<sup>3</sup> Ὑφικράτης, Corais.

<sup>1</sup> They meant in *length*, apparently, and not in *circumference* (op. 2. 1. 14 and 11. 10. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Apparently ..... (int) and *Dracunculus* (op. Pliny .....  
 - 1. 6. 6, 7. 12. 2).

<sup>3</sup> A kind of carrot or parsnip.

about one cubit;<sup>1</sup> and that every herb grows high, and every vegetable, as, for example, *arum* and *dracontium*;<sup>2</sup> and the stalks of the *staphylini*<sup>3</sup> and the *hippomarathi*<sup>4</sup> and the *scolymi*<sup>5</sup> grow twelve cubits high and four palms thick. And for serpents, also, and elephants and gazelles and *bubali*<sup>6</sup> and similar animals, as also for lions and leopards, the country is a nurse in every way. It also produces ferrets<sup>7</sup> equal in size to cats, and like them, except that their noses project further; and also a very great number of apes, concerning which Poseidonius states that, when he was sailing from Gadeira to Italy, he was carried close to the Libyan coast and saw on a low-lying shore a forest full of these animals, some in the trees and others on the ground, and some having young and suckling them; that he fell to laughing, however, when he saw some with heavy udders, some with bald heads, and others ruptured or displaying other disabilities of that kind.

5. Above Maurusia, on the outside sea, lies the country of the western Aethiopians, as they are called, a country for the most part poorly settled. Here too, according to Iphicrates,<sup>8</sup> are found camelopards, elephants, and the *rhizeis*,<sup>9</sup> as they are called, which are like bulls in their form, but like elephants in their manner of living and their

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* horse-fennel.

<sup>2</sup> An edible kind of thistle.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the antelope *bubalis*.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. 3. 2. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Possibly a copyist's error for "Hypierates" (see Vol. III, p. 245, note 2).

<sup>9</sup> *i.e.* animals with noses "like roots"; perhaps the writer quoted meant the rhinoceros, but elsewhere (10. 4. 15) Strabo himself uses the word "rhinoceros."

ἐλέφασιν εἰκόασιν· δράκοντάς τε λέγει μεγάλους, ὥστε<sup>1</sup> καὶ πόαν ἐπιπεφυκέναι· τοὺς δὲ λέοντας τοῖς πῶλοις τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπιτίθασθαι, αἰμάξαντας δὲ φεύγειν, ἐπιουσῶν τῶν μητέρων· τὰς δ' ἐπειδὴν ἴδωσιν ἡμαγμένους, κτείνειν· ἐπανιόντας δὲ τοὺς λέοντας ἐπὶ τὰ πτώματα νεκροφαγεῖν. Βόγον δέ, τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσπερίους Αἰθίοπας, καταπέμψαι τῇ γυναικὶ δῶρα καλάμους τοῖς Ἰνδικοῖς ὁμοίους, ὧν ἕκαστον γόνυ χοίνικας χωρεῖν<sup>2</sup> ὀκτώ· καὶ ἄσπαράγων δ' ἐμφερῇ μεγέθει.

6. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐντὸς θάλατταν πλέουσιν ἀπὸ Λυγγὸς πόλις ἐστὶ Ζήλις καὶ Τίγξ,<sup>3</sup> εἴτα τῶν Ἑπτὰ ἀδελφῶν μνήματα καὶ τὸ ὑπερκείμενον ὄρος ὄνομα Ἀβίλλη,<sup>4</sup> πολύθηρου καὶ μεγαλόδενδρον. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὰς Στήλας πορθμοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος λέγεται σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, τὸ δ' ἐλάχιστον πλάτος κατὰ τὸν Ἐλέφαντα ἐξήκοντα. εἰσπλεύσαντι δ' ἐξῆς πόλεις τε καὶ ποταμοὶ πλείους μέχρι Μολοχὰθ ποταμοῦ, ὃς ὀρίζει τὴν Μαυρουσίων καὶ τὴν Μασαισυλίων<sup>5</sup> γῆν. κεῖται<sup>6</sup> δὲ καὶ ἄκρα μεγάλη πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Μεταγώνιον, τόπος ἀνδρὸς καὶ λυπρὸς, σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Κώτεων<sup>7</sup> μέχρι δεῦρο παρατείνει· μῆκος δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν Κώτεων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους τοὺς τῶν Μασαισυλίων<sup>8</sup> στάδιοι

<sup>1</sup> οἷς γε, Corais.

<sup>2</sup> χωροῦν Έοxx.

<sup>3</sup> Τίγξ, the editors, for Τίγα.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀβήλη ox, Ἀβύλη Dhi.

<sup>5</sup> Μασαισυλίων Έλ, Μασαίσυλων F, Μασσαισυλίων other MSS.

<sup>6</sup> κεῖται, Kramer, for καλεῖται.

<sup>7</sup> Κώτεων Έ, Κωταίων other MSS.

size and their courage in fighting. And he speaks of serpents so large that even grass grows upon their backs; and says that the lions attack the young of the elephants, but, after they have drawn blood, flee when the mothers approach, and that the mothers, when they see their young stained with blood, kill them, and that the lions return to the victims and eat them. And he says that Bogus, the king of the Maurusians, when he went up against the western Aethiopians, sent down to his wife as gifts reeds like those of India, of which each joint held eight choenices,<sup>1</sup> and also asparagus of similar size.

6. As one sails into the inner sea from Lynx, one comes to the city Zelis and to Tinx; and then to the Monuments of the Seven Brothers<sup>2</sup> and to the mountain that lies above them, Abilê by name, which abounds in wild animals and large trees. The length of the strait at the Pillars is said to be one hundred and twenty stadia, and the minimum breadth, measured at Elephas, sixty. On sailing into the sea, one comes next to several cities and rivers—to the Molochath<sup>3</sup> River, which forms the boundary between the lands of the Maurusians and the Masae-sylians. Near the river lies a large promontory, and also Metagonium, a waterless and barren place; and I might almost say that the mountain which begins at the Coteis extends as far as this; and its length from the Coteis to the boundaries of the Masaesylians

<sup>1</sup> About a gallon and a half.

<sup>2</sup> The seven "Monuments" or mountain-peaks.

<sup>3</sup> Now the Mulujah.

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<sup>4</sup> *Μασαισυλίων*, Kramer, for *Μασαισύλων* F, *Μασσαισυλίων* other MSS.



πεντακισχίλιοι. ἔστι δὲ τὸ Μεταγώνιον κατὰ  
 νέαν που Καρχηδόνα ἐν τῇ περαιᾷ Τιμοσθένης  
 δ' οὐκ εὖ κατὰ Μασσαλίαν φησίν. ἔστι δ' ἐκ  
 C 828 Καρχηδόνος νέας διάρμα εἰς Μεταγώνιον στάδιοι  
 τρισχίλιοι, παράπλους δὲ εἰς Μασσαλίαν ὑπὲρ  
 ἑξακισχιλίων.

7. Οὕτω δ' εὐδαίμονα χώραν οἰκοῦντες τὴν  
 πλείστην οἱ Μαυρούσιοι διατελοῦσιν, ὅμως καὶ  
 μέχρι δεῦρο τοῦ χρόνου νομαδικῶς ζῶντες οἱ  
 πολλοί. καλλωπίζονται δ' ὅμως κόμης ἐμπλοκῇ  
 καὶ πώγωνι καὶ χρυσοφορίᾳ σμήξει τε ὀδόντων  
 καὶ ὀνυχισμῷ· σπάνιον τε ἂν ἴδοις ἀπτομένους  
 ἀλλήλων ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις τοῦ παραμένειν  
 αὐτοῖς ἄθικτον τὸν κόσμον τῶν τριχῶν. μάχονται  
 δ' ἱππόται τὸ πλεον ἀπὸ ἄκοντος, σχοινοχαλίνους  
 χρώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις καὶ γυμνοῖς, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ  
 μαχαίρας· οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ τὰς τῶν ἐλεφάντων δορὰς  
 ὡς ἀσπίδας προβάλλονται· τὰς δὲ τῶν λεόντων  
 καὶ παρδάλεων καὶ ἄρκτων ἀμπέχονται καὶ  
 ἐγκοιμῶνται. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ  
 ἐφεξῆς Μασαισύλιοι<sup>1</sup> καὶ κοινῶς Λίβυες κατὰ  
 τὸ πλεον ὁμοίοσκευοί εἰσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐμφερεῖς,  
 μικροῖς ἵπποις χρώμενοι, ὀξέσι δὲ καὶ εὐπειθέσιν,  
 ὥστ' ἀπὸ ραβδίου οἰακίζεσθαι. περιτραχήλια δὲ  
 ξύλινα ἢ τρίχυνα, ὑφ' ὧν ὁ ῥυτὴρ ἀπῆρτηται·  
 ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χωρὶς ὀλκῆς ἔπονται ὡς κύνες.  
 πέλτη μικρὰ βυρσίνη, πλατύλογχα μικρά, ἄζω-  
 στοι πλατύσημοι χιτῶνες, ἐπιπόρημα, ὡς ἔφην,  
 δορὰ καὶ προθωράκιον. Φαρούσιοι<sup>2</sup> δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> Μασαισύλιοι E, Μασαίσυλοι F, Μασσάσυλοι D, Μασσαίσυλοι  
 other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Φαυρούσιοι E, Φαροούσιοι C

## GEOGRAPHY, 17. 3. 6-7

is five thousand stadia. Metagonium is about opposite New Carthage,<sup>1</sup> on the other side of the sea, but Timosthenes wrongly says that it is opposite Massalia.<sup>2</sup> The passage across from New Carthage to Metagonium is three thousand stadia, and the coasting-voyage to Massalia is over six thousand.

7. Although the most of the country inhabited by the Maurusians is so fertile, yet even to this time most of the people persist in living a nomadic life. But nevertheless they beautify their appearance by braiding their hair, growing beards, wearing golden ornaments, and also by cleaning their teeth and paring their nails. And only rarely can you see them touch one another in walking, for fear that the adornment of their hair may not remain intact. Their horsemen fight mostly with a javelin, using bridles made of rush, and riding bareback; but they also carry daggers. The foot-soldiers hold before them as shields the skins of elephants, and clothe themselves with the skins of lions, leopards, and bears, and sleep in them. I might almost say that these people, and the Masaesylians, who live next after them, and the Libyans in general, dress alike and are similar in all other respects, using horses that are small but swift, and so ready to obey that they are governed with a small rod. The horses wear collars made of wood<sup>3</sup> or of hair, to which the rein is fastened, though some follow even without being led, like dogs. These people have small shields made of raw-hide, small spears with broad heads, wear ungirded tunics with wide borders, and, as I have said, use skins as mantles and shields.

<sup>1</sup> Now Cartagena.

<sup>2</sup> Now Marseilles.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* of tree-wool.

Νιγρητες<sup>1</sup> οἱ ὑπὲρ τούτων οἰκούντες πρὸς τοῖς ἑσπερίοις Αἰθίοψι καὶ τοξεύουσι, καθάπερ καὶ οἱ Αἰθίοπες· χρῶνται δὲ καὶ δρεπανηφόροις ἄρμασι. μίσγονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις οἱ Φαρούσιοι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου σπανίως, ὑπὸ ταῖς κοιλίαις τῶν ἵππων ὑπαρτῶντες τοὺς ἄσκους τοῦ ὕδατος· ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ εἰς Κίρταν ἀφικνοῦνται διὰ τινων τόπων ἐλωδῶν καὶ λιμνῶν. τινὰς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Τρωγλοδυντικῶς οἰκεῖν φασιν ὀρύττοντας τὴν γῆν. λέγεται δὲ κἀνταῦθα τοὺς θερινοὺς ὄμβρους ἐπιπολάζειν, χειμῶνος δὲ εἶναι ἀνυδρίαν· ἐνίοις δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ βαρβάρων καὶ ὄφρων καὶ ἰχθύων δοραῖς ἀμπεχόναις τε καὶ στρώμασι χρῆσθαι. τοὺς δὲ Μαυρουσίους<sup>2</sup> ἐνιοὶ φασιν Ἰνδοὺς εἶναι τοὺς συγκατελθόντας Ἡρακλεῖ δεῦρο. μικρὸν μὲν οὖν πρὸ ἡμῶν οἱ περὶ Βόγον<sup>3</sup> βασιλεῖς καὶ Βόκχον κατεῖχον αὐτήν, φίλοι Ῥωμαίων ὄντες· ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τούτων, Ἰούβας παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, δόντος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχήν πρὸς τῇ πατρῷᾳ· υἱὸς δ' ἦν Ἰούβα τοῦ πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν θεὸν πολεμήσαντος μετὰ Σκιπίωνος. Ἰούβας μὲν οὖν νεωστὶ ἐτελεύτα τὸν βίον, διαδέδεκται δὲ τὴν ἀρχήν υἱὸς Πτολεμαῖος, γεγονὼς ἐξ Ἀντωνίου θυγατρὸς καὶ Κλεοπάτρας.

C 829 8. Ἀρτεμίδωρος δ' Ἐρατοσθένει μὲν ἀντιλέγει, διότι Λίξον<sup>4</sup> τινὰ φησι πόλιν περὶ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς

<sup>1</sup> Νιγρητες DFh.

<sup>2</sup> For Μαυρουσίους, Meineke writes Φαρουσίους.

<sup>3</sup> Βόγον, Casaubon, for Βόκχο. h, Βόγκον i, Βόγχοι other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Λίξον Fs, Λίξον other MSS.

The Pharusians and Nigretes<sup>1</sup> who live above these people near the western Aethiopians also use bows, like the Aethiopians; and they also use scythe-bearing chariots. The Pharusians mingle only rarely even with the Maurusians when passing through the desert, since they carry skins of water fastened beneath the bellies of their horses. Sometimes, however, they come even to Cirta, passing through certain marshy regions and over lakes. Some of them are said to live like Troglodytes, digging homes in the earth. And it is said that here too the summer rains are prevalent, but that in winter there is a drought, and that some of the barbarians in this part of the world use also the skins of snakes and fish both as wraps and as bed-covers. And the Maurusians<sup>2</sup> are said by some to be the Indians who came thither with Heracles. Now a little before my time the kings of the house of Bogus and of Bocchus, who were friends of the Romans, possessed the country, but when these died Juba succeeded to the throne, Augustus Caesar having given him this in addition to his father's empire. He was the son of the Juba who with Scipio waged war against the deified Caesar. Now Juba died lately,<sup>3</sup> but his son Ptolemy, whose mother was the daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, has succeeded to the throne.

8. Artemidorus disputes the view of Eratosthenes because the latter calls a certain city in the neigh-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a copyist's error for "Nigritae" (the spelling in 2. 5. 33, 16. 4. 37 and 17. 3. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Apparently an error for "Pharusians" (see Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 18, Pomponius Mela, 3. 10, Pliny, 5. 8, and critical note).

<sup>3</sup> About A.D. 19.

## STRABO

Μαυρουσίας τὰ ἐσπέρια ἀντὶ Λυγγός· Φοινικικὰς δὲ πόλεις κατεσκαμμένας<sup>1</sup> παμπούλλας τινὰς, ὧν οὐδὲν ἰδεῖν ἐστὶν ἔχνος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσπερίοις Αἰθίοφιν, τοὺς ἀέρας πλατεῖς φήσας,<sup>2</sup> ταῖς τε ὀρθριναῖς ὥραις καὶ ταῖς δειλιναῖς παχεῖς καὶ ἀχλυνώδεις εἶναι τοὺς ἀέρας· πῶς γὰρ ἐν αὐχμώδεσι καὶ καυματηροῖς τόποις ταῦτ' εἶναι ; αὐτὸς δὲ τούτων πολὺ χεῖρω λέγει περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους· μετανάστας γάρ τινας ἱστορεῖ Λωτοφάγους, οἳ τὴν ἄνδρον νέμονται, σιτοῖντο δὲ λωτόν, πόαν τινὰ καὶ ῥίζαν, ἀφ' ἧς οὐδὲν δέονται ποτοῦ· παρήκειν δ' αὐτοὺς μέχρι τῶν ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης τόπων· τοὺς δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ γαλακτοποτεῖν καὶ κρεωφαγεῖν, καίπερ ταῦτοκλινεῖς ὄντας. καὶ Γαβίνιος<sup>3</sup> δὲ ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεὺς<sup>4</sup> οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς τερατολογίας τῆς περὶ τὴν Μαυρουσίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ Λυγγί<sup>5</sup> Ἀνταίου μνημα ἱστορεῖ καὶ σκελετὸν πηχῶν ἐξήκοντα, ὃν Σερτώριον γυμνῶσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐπιβαλεῖν γῆνι. καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων μυθώδη· φησὶ γὰρ τὰλλα μὲν θηρία φεύγειν τὸ πῦρ, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀμύνεσθαι, διότι τὴν ὕλην φθείρει· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διαμάχεσθαι, κατασκόπους προπέμποντας, καί, ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἐκείνους φεύγοντας,<sup>6</sup> φεύγειν καὶ αὐτούς, ἐπειδὰν δὲ<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> κατεσπασμένας F, κατεσκευασμένας μοσχ.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς ἀέρας πλατεῖς φήσας, Corais and others bracket, Meineke ejects.

<sup>3</sup> Τανύσιος F, Τανίσιος w.

<sup>4</sup> συγγραφέων MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Λιγγί Dmoxx.

<sup>6</sup> φεύγοντας, Corais inserts.

## GEOGRAPHY, 17. 3. 8

bourhood of western extremities of Maurusia "Lixus" instead of Lynx; and because he calls "Phoenician" a very great number of rased cities of which no trace is to be seen;<sup>1</sup> and because, "the western Aethiopians" air is thick and misty in the hours both of early morning and of evening. For, argues Artemidorus, how can these things be in a region that is arid and torrid? But he himself gives a much worse account of the same region, for he tells a story of certain migrants, Lotophagi,<sup>2</sup> who roam the waterless country and feed on lotus, a kind of plant and root, from eating which they have no need of drink; and that they extend as far as the region above Cyrenê; but that those in that region also drink milk and eat meat, although they are in the same latitude. And Gabinius also, the Roman historian, does not abstain from telling marvellous stories of Maurusia; for example, he tells a story of a tomb of Antaeus near Lynx, and a skeleton sixty feet in length, which, he says, Sertorius exposed to view, and then covered again with earth.<sup>3</sup> And he tells fabulous stories about the elephants: for example, he says that whereas the other animals flee from fire, the elephants carry on war with it and defend themselves against it, because it destroys the timber, and that they engage in battle with human beings, sending out scouts before them, and that when they see them fleeing, they flee too, and that when they

<sup>1</sup> See § 3 (above).

<sup>2</sup> The usual meaning of the Greek adjective is "broad" or "flat"; but Eratosthenes must have used it in the sense of "salty."

<sup>3</sup> Lotus-eaters.

<sup>4</sup> So Plutarch (*Sertorius* 9).

τραύματα λάβωσιν, ἰκετηρίαν<sup>1</sup> προτείνειν κλάδους ἢ βοτάνην ἢ κόνιν.

9. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Μαυρουσίων γῆν ἢ τῶν Μασαισυλίων<sup>2</sup> ἐστίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μολοχάθ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνουσα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄκραν, ἣ καλεῖται Τρητόν,<sup>3</sup> ὄριον τῆς τε Μασαισυλίων<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῆς Μασυλιέων<sup>5</sup> γῆς. σταδίοι δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Μεταγωνίου μέχρι τοῦ Τρητοῦ ἑξακισχίλιοι· οἱ δ' ἐλάττους φασίν. ἔχει δ' ἡ παραλία πόλεις τε πλείους καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ χώραν εὐφυῆ, τῶν δ' ἐν ὀνόματι ἄρκεῖ μνησθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ πόλις Σίγα ἐν χιλίοις σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῶν λεχθέντων ὄρων, καὶ βασίλειον Σόφακος·<sup>6</sup> κατέσπασται δὲ νῦν· τὴν δὲ χώραν μετὰ Σόφακα<sup>7</sup> κατέσχε Μασανάσσης,<sup>8</sup> εἴτα Μικίψας, εἴτα καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους διαδεξάμενοι, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ Ἰούβας ὁ πατήρ τοῦ νεωστὶ τελευτήσαντος Ἰούβα· κατέσπασται δὲ καὶ Ζάμα τὸ τούτου βασίλειον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σίγαν<sup>9</sup> Θεῶν λιμὴν ἐν ἑξακοσίοις σταδίοις· εἴτ' ἄλλοι ἄσημοι τόποι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν βάθει τῆς χώρας ὀρευνὰ καὶ ἔρημα<sup>10</sup> (ἔσθ' ὅτε παρέσπαρται, ἃ κατέχουσιν οἱ Γαίτουλοι<sup>11</sup>) μέχρι καὶ Σύρτεων, τὰ δ' ἐκεῖ πρὸς θαλάττη καὶ πεδία

<sup>1</sup> ἰκετηρίαν, Corais, for ἰκητήριον.

<sup>2</sup> Μασαισυλίων EF, Μασσαισυλίων other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Τρητόν, inserted by the later editors from conj. of Casaubon.

<sup>4</sup> Μασαισυλίων F, Μασσαισυλίων z, Μασαισύλων other MSS.

<sup>5</sup> Μασυλιέων, Kramer, for Μασυλίβων; Μασσυλιαίων, Corais.

<sup>6</sup> Σόφακος C, Σοφάκας DFhxx, Σόφακος editors before Kramer.

<sup>7</sup> Σόφακα (but o above ω) C, Σοφάκα Dh, Σοφάκαν xx.

<sup>8</sup> Μασανάσσης Oί, Μασανίσσης editors before Kramer.

<sup>9</sup> Σίγαν, Corais, for Σίγα.

receive wounds, as suppliants they hold out branches of a tree or an herb or dust.

9. After the land of the Maurusians, one comes to that of the Masaesylians, which takes its beginning at the Molochath River and ends at the promontory which is called Tretum, the boundary between the lands of the Masaesylians and the Masylians. The distance from Metagonium to Tretum is six thousand stadia, though some say less. The coast has several cities and rivers and a goodly territory, but it is sufficient to mention only those of renown. At a distance of one thousand stadia from the above-mentioned boundaries is Siga, which was the royal residence of Sophax, though it is now in ruins. After Sophax the country was possessed by Masanasses, and then by Micipsas, and then by his successors, and in my time by Juba, the father of the Juba who recently died. Zama, his royal residence, has also been laid in ruins by the Romans. After Siga, and at a distance of six hundred stadia, one comes to Theon Limen;<sup>1</sup> and then to the other, insignificant, places. Now the parts deep in the interior<sup>2</sup> are indeed mountainous and desert (sometimes they are interspersed with habitations and these parts are held by the Gaetulians<sup>3</sup>), even as far as the Syrtes, but the

<sup>1</sup> "Gods' Harbour."

<sup>2</sup> See 17. 3. 2 (end).

<sup>3</sup> The text of the passage in parentheses is doubtful (see critical note).

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<sup>10</sup> After ἔρημα Groskurd inserts τινὰ δὲ καὶ οἰκήσιμα; Meineke indicates a lacuna there; Corais conj. ὅπη for πότις.

<sup>11</sup> Γετοῦλοι E, Γέτουλοι other MSS.



εὐδαίμονά ἐστι καὶ πόλεις πολλαὶ καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λίμναι.

Ο 830 10. Ποσειδώνιος δ' οὐκ οἶδ' εἰ ἀληθεύει,<sup>1</sup> φήσας ὀλίγοις καὶ μικροῖς διαρρεῖσθαι ποταμοῖς τὴν Λιβύην· αὐτοὺς γάρ, οὓς Ἀρτεμίδωρος εἶρηκε, τοὺς μεταξὺ τῆς Λυγγὸς καὶ Καρχηδόνος καὶ πολλοὺς εἶρηκε<sup>2</sup> καὶ μεγάλους. ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ταῦτ' ἀληθέστερον εἰπεῖν· εἶρηκε δὲ τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτός, μὴ γὰρ κατομβρεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς μέρεσι, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τὴν Λίθιοπίαν φασί· διὸ πολλάκις λοιμικὰ ἐμπίπτειν ὑπὸ αὐχμῶν καὶ τὰς λίμνας τελμάτων πίμπλασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀκρίδα ἐπιπολάζειν. ἔτι φησὶ τὰ μὲν ἀνατολικά ὑγρά εἶναι, τὸν γὰρ ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ταχὺ παραλλάττειν, τὰ δ' ἐσπέρια ξηρά, ἐκεῖ γὰρ καταστρέφειν. ὑγρά γὰρ καὶ ξηρά, τὰ μὲν παρ' ὑδάτων ἀφθονίαν ἢ σπάνιν λέγεται, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν τῶν ἡλίων βούλεται δὲ λέγειν τὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἡλίους· ταῦτα δὲ πάντες ἀρκτικοῖς καὶ μεσημβρινοῖς κλίμασιν ἀφορίζουσι· καὶ μὴν ἀνατολικά τε καὶ δυσμικά, τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὰς οἰκῆσεις λεγόμενα, καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ τὴν μετάπτωσιν τῶν ὀριζόντων ἄλλα ἐστίν, ὥστ' οὐδ' ἔνεστι<sup>3</sup> καθολικῶς εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπεριλήπτων τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἀνατολικά ὑγρά, τὰ δὲ δυσμικά ξηρά. ὥς δὲ λέγεται πρὸς τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην καὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἀληθεύει E, ἀληθὴς u, ἀληθῆ other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> τοὺς μεταξὺ . . . εἶρηκε, omitted by MSS. except EF.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' ἔνεστι, Corais, for οὐδέν ἐστι.

<sup>1</sup> The text is corrupt. Strabo probably wrote merely this: "for Artemidorus calls them many and large" (see critical note).

parts there near the sea consist of fertile plains, many cities, rivers, and lakes.

10. I do not know whether Poseidonius tells the truth when he says that Libya is intersected by rivers "only few and small"; for merely the rivers mentioned by Artemidorus, those between Lynx and Carthage, are by him called "both many and large."<sup>1</sup> This statement can be made more truthfully in regard to the interior of the country; and he himself<sup>2</sup> states the cause of this, saying that "no rain falls in the northern parts," as is also said to be the case in Aethiopia, and therefore pestilences often ensue because of droughts, and the lakes are filled with mud, and the locust is prevalent. And he further says that "the eastern regions are moist, for the sun passes quickly when it is rising, whereas the western regions are arid, for there it turns back."<sup>3</sup> For regions are called moist and arid, partly in proportion to abundance or scarcity of waters, and partly in proportion to that of the sun's rays; but Poseidonius means to speak only of the effects of the sun's rays; and these effects are by all writers defined by latitude, north or south; and indeed both the eastern and western regions, when spoken of with reference to the habitations of man, vary according to each several habitation and the change in their horizons, so that it is also impossible to make a general assertion in regard to places whose number passes all comprehension that the eastern are moist and the western arid; but since such statements are made with reference to the in-

<sup>1</sup> Poseidonius.

<sup>2</sup> Thus slowing down in making the turn back, as Strabo interprets it.

ἔσχατιὰς τὰς τοιαύτας, ὅλα καὶ ἡ Ἰνδικὴ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία, λέγοι ἂν, εἰ ἄρα,<sup>1</sup> τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπόφασιν. τίς οὖν ἡ πιθανότης τῆς αἰτιολογίας; ἐν γὰρ περιφορᾷ συνεχεῖ τε καὶ ἀδιαλείπτῳ τοῦ ἡλίου τίς ἂν εἴη καταστροφή; τό τε τάχος τῆς παραλλαγῆς<sup>2</sup> πανταχοῦ ἴσον. ἄλλως τε παρὰ τὴν ἐνέργειάν<sup>3</sup> ἐστὶ, τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἢ τῆς Μαυρουσίας τὰ πρὸς δύσιν ξηρὰ λέγειν ἀπάντων μάλιστα· καὶ γὰρ τὸ περιέχον εὐκρατον ἔχει<sup>4</sup> καὶ πλείστων ὑδάτων εὐπορεῖ. εἰ δὲ τὸ καταστρέφειν τοιοῦτον εἴληπται, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὕστατα τῆς οἰκουμένης ὑπὲρ γῆς γίνεται, τί τοῦτο συντείνει πρὸς ξηρασίαν; καὶ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις τῆς οἰκουμένης τοῖς ταυτοκλινέσι, τὸν ἴσον διαλιπὼν χρόνον τὸν τῆς νυκτός, ἐπάνεισι πάλιν καὶ θερμαίνει<sup>5</sup> τὴν γῆν.

11. Ἔστι δὲ πού αὐτόθι καὶ ἀσφάλτου πηγὴ καὶ χαλκωρυχεῖα· καὶ σκορπίων δὲ καὶ πτηνῶν<sup>6</sup> καὶ ἀπτέρων λέγεται πλῆθος, μεγέθει δὲ<sup>7</sup> ἑπτασπονδύλων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φαλάγγια καὶ μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει διαφέροντα· σαύρας δὲ διπῆχεις φασίν. ἐν μὲν οὖν τῇ παρορείῳ λίθους εὗρίσκεσθαι φασὶ τοὺς λυχνίτας καὶ καρχηδονίους λεγο-

<sup>1</sup> εἰ, *moz* omit; ἄρα, *α* omits; the editors before Kramer read *κατὰ γε* instead of *εἰ ἄρα*.

<sup>2</sup> καταστροφῆς F.

<sup>3</sup> ἐνέργειαν F.

<sup>4</sup> ἔχει, Letronne, for ἔχειν.

<sup>5</sup> διαθερμαίνει E.

<sup>6</sup> E inserts *τε* after *πτηνῶν*.

<sup>7</sup> After *δέ*, Letronne, citing 15. 1. 37 (*σκορπίους . . . ὑπερβάλλοντας μεγέθει*) and Lucian *De Dipsad.* 3, inserts *ὑπερβαλλόντων καί*.

habited world as a whole and to such extremities of it as India and Iberia, perhaps he could make such a statement. What plausibility, however, can there be in his explanation of the cause? For in the revolution of the sun, which is continuous and unintermitting, what "turning back" could there be? And further, the speed of the sun's transit is everywhere equal. Besides, it is contrary to the evidence<sup>1</sup> to call the extremities of Iberia or Maurusia, I mean the extremities on the west, the most arid places in the world, for they not only have a temperate atmosphere but also are well supplied with numerous waters. But if the "turning back" of the sun is interpreted in this way, that there it is last above the inhabited world, wherein does this contribute to aridity? For there, as well as in the other places of the inhabited world that are in the same latitude, the sun leaves an equal interval of night, and comes back again and warms the earth.

11. Somewhere here<sup>2</sup> there are also copper mines and a spring of asphalt; and writers speak also of a multitude of scorpions, both winged and wingless, which in size are heptaspondylic,<sup>3</sup> and likewise of tarantulas<sup>4</sup> which are exceptional both in size and in number; and lizards which are said to be two cubits long. Now on the mountain-side<sup>5</sup> are said to be found the "Lychnite"<sup>6</sup> and Carthaginian

<sup>1</sup> One MS. reads "actuality" instead of "evidence" (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* in Masacesylia.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* they have "seven vertebrae" (the *Pandinus heros*); see critical note, and op. 15. 1. 37.

<sup>4</sup> Op. 16. 4. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Op. § 19 following.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* "Luminous" stones; apparently a tourmaline.

μένους· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πεδίοις ὄστρακίων καὶ χηρα-  
 μύδων<sup>1</sup> πλήθος, οἷον ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ "Αμμωνος  
 C 831 λόγοις εἰρήκαμεν· καὶ δένδρον δὲ ἐστὶ μελίλωτον  
 καλούμενον, ἐξ οὗ σκευάζουσιν οἶνον. τινὲς δ'  
 αὐτῶν καὶ δίκαρπον ἔχουσι τὴν γῆν, καὶ δύο  
 θεριστικὰ καρποῦνται, τὰ μὲν θερινά, τὰ δ'  
 ἑαρινά· ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ καλάμη πεντάπηχυς τὸ ὕψος,  
 πάχος δὲ τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, τὸν δὲ καρπὸν  
 διακοσιοκαίτετταρακοντάχουν ἀποδίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ  
 ἔαρος οὐδὲ σπεύρουσιν, ἀλλὰ παλιούροις συνδεδε-  
 μέναις ἐπικαταψήσαντες τὴν χώραν τῷ ἐκπεσόντι  
 στάχυϊ κατὰ τὸν θερισμόν ἀρκοῦνται· τελεσι-  
 καρπεῖ γὰρ τὸν θερινὸν καρπὸν, διὰ δὲ τὸ  
 πλήθος τῶν θηρίων κνημίδας<sup>2</sup> : : : :  
 καὶ τὰλλα δὲ μέρη διφθεροῦντι . . . .  
 περιχρίουσι τοὺς κλινόποδας σκορόδοις τῶν  
 σκορπίων χάριν καὶ παλιούροις περιδοῦσιν.

12. Ἦν δ' ἐν<sup>2</sup> τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ πόλις Ἰῶλ  
 ὄνομα, ἣν ἐπικτίσας Ἰούβας ὁ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου  
 πατὴρ μετωνόμασε Καισάρειαν, ἔχουσιν καὶ  
 λιμένα καὶ πρὸ τοῦ λιμένος νησίον. μεταξὺ δὲ  
 τῆς Καισαρείας καὶ τοῦ Τρητοῦ μέγας ἐστὶ λιμὴν,  
 ὃν Σάλδαν καλοῦσιν· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὄριον τῆς  
 ὑπὸ τῷ Ἰούβᾳ<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις  
 πολυτρόπως γὰρ οἱ μερισμοὶ γεγέννηται τῆς  
 χώρας, ἅτε τῶν νεμομένων αὐτὴν πλειόνων

<sup>1</sup> χημίδων B, χηραμίδων Dx.

<sup>2</sup> δ' ἐν, Osaubon, for δέ.

<sup>3</sup> Ἰόβα B.

<sup>1</sup> A carbunculus (see Pliny, 37. 25 and 30).

<sup>2</sup> l. 3, 4.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "honey-lotus." Strabo calls the melilotus a "tree,"

stones,<sup>1</sup> as they are called, and, in the plains, oyster-shells and mussel-shells in great quantities, like those mentioned by me in my description of Ammon.<sup>2</sup> And there is also a tree called melilotus,<sup>3</sup> from which they prepare a wine. And some of the people have land that produces two crops of grain, reaping two harvests, one in spring and the other in summer; and the stalk is five cubits in height, has the thickness of the little finger, and yields a crop 240-fold. In the spring they do not even sow seed, but harrow the ground lightly with bundles of paliuri,<sup>4</sup> and are satisfied with the seed-grain that has fallen out of the ear at the time of the harvest; for this produces a perfect summer crop. On account of the number of wild animals<sup>5</sup> they work with leggings on and also clothe the rest of their bodies with skins. And when they lie down to sleep, they smear the feet of their beds with garlic and tie a bunch of paliuri around them, on account of the scorpions.

12. On this coast was a city named Iol, which Juba, the father of Ptolemy, rebuilt, changing its name to Caesareia; it has a harbour, and also, in front of the harbour, a small island. Between Caesareia and Tretum is a large harbour called Salda, which is now a boundary between the territories subject to Juba and the Romans; for the divisions of the country have been made in various ways, inasmuch as its occupants have been several

both here and in § 17 following, but other writers (*e.g.* Theophrastus, 9. 40, 49) apply the name to a kind of clover.

<sup>4</sup> A kind of thorny shrub (*Rhamnus paliurus*).

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* reptiles in particular, apparently.

γενομένων καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως  
 τούτων τοῖς μὲν φίλοις χρωμένων, τοῖς δὲ καὶ  
 πολεμίοις· ὥστε καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι  
 συνέβαινεν ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.  
 ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν πρὸς τῇ Μαυρουσίᾳ προσοδικωτέρα τε  
 καὶ δυναμικωτέρα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τῇ Καρχηδονίᾳ καὶ  
 τῇ Μασυλιέων<sup>1</sup> ἀνθηροτέρα τε καὶ κατεσκευασ-  
 μένη βέλτιον, καίπερ κεκακωμένα διὰ τὰ Καρχη-  
 δόνια τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸν πρὸς Ἰουγούρθαν  
 πόλεμον· ἐκεῖνος γὰρ Ἀδάρβαλα ἐκπολιορκήσας  
 ἐν Ἰτύκῃ καὶ ἀνελών, φίλον ὄντα Ῥωμαίων,  
 ἐνέπλησε τὴν χώραν πολέμου· εἴτ' ἄλλοι ἐπ'  
 ἄλλοις συνέστησαν πόλεμοι, τελευταῖος δὲ ὁ πρὸς  
 Σκιπίωνα Καίσαρι τῷ θεῷ συστάς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ  
 Ἰούβας ἀπέθανε· συνηφανίσθησαν δὲ τοῖς ἡγεμόσι  
 καὶ αἱ πόλεις, Τισιαοὺς τε καὶ Οὐάγα<sup>2</sup> καὶ Θάλα,  
 ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κάψα, τὸ γαζοφυλάκιον τοῦ Ἰου-  
 γούρθα, καὶ Ζάμα καὶ Ζίγχα<sup>3</sup> καὶ πρὸς αἷς  
 κατεπολέμησε Καῖσαρ Σκιπίωνα ὁ θεός, πρὸς  
 Ῥουσπίνω<sup>4</sup> μὲν πρῶτον νικῶν, εἴτα πρὸς Οὐζίτοις,  
 εἴτα πρὸς Θάψω καὶ τῇ πλησίον λίμνῃ, καὶ ταῖς  
 ἄλλαις· πλησίον δὲ καὶ Ζέλλα καὶ Ἀχόλλα,  
 ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις. εἴλε δ' ἐξ ἐφόδου Καῖσαρ τὴν  
 Κέρκινναν<sup>5</sup> νῆσον καὶ Θέναν, πολίχνην ἐπιθαλατ-  
 τιδίαν. τούτων πασῶν αἱ μὲν τελέως ἠφανίσ-  
 θησαν, αἱ δ' ἡμίσπαστοι κατελείφθησαν· Φαράν  
 δ' οἱ Σκιπίωνος ἱππεῖς ἐνέπρησαν.

<sup>1</sup> Μασσαιίων μοz, Μασσαιουλίων z, Μασσυλιαίων other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Οὐάγα, Letronne, Kramer, and Meineke, for Οὐατα; O. Müller conj. Οὐβατα.

<sup>3</sup> Ζίγχα, Xylander, for Ζάκμα.

<sup>4</sup> Ῥουσπίνω, Corais, for Ῥουσπῖνον.

in number and the Romans have dealt with them in different ways at different times, treating some as friends and others as enemies, the result being that different parts were taken away from, or presented to, different peoples, but not in the same way. The country towards Maurusia not only produced more revenue but was also more powerful, whereas that towards Carthage and the Masylians was both more flourishing and better built up, although it had been put in a bad plight, first, on account of the Carthaginian Wars, and then on account of the war against Jugurtha; for he took by siege Adarbal, a friend of the Romans, at Itycê<sup>1</sup> and slew him, and thus filled all Libya with war; and then wars on wars broke out, and, last of all, the war that broke out between the deified Caesar and Scipio, in which even Juba was killed; and with the leaders the cities were wiped out too, I mean Tisiäus, Vaga, and Thala, as also Capsa, the treasure-hold of Jugurtha, and Zama, and Zincha, and those cities near which the deified Caesar defeated Scipio, first winning a victory over him near Ruspinum, and then near Uzita, and then near Thapsus and the lake near by, and the other cities. And near by also are Zella and Acholla, free cities. And Caesar captured at the first onset the island Cercinna, and Thena, a town on the coast. Of all these, some were utterly wiped out and the others left half-destroyed; but Phara was burned by Scipio's cavalry.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "Utica." But Sallust (*Jug.* 25-26) says "Cirta."

<sup>2</sup> Κέρκινναν, Casaubon inserts.



Ο 832 13. Μετὰ δ' οὖν Τρητὸν ἢ Μασυλιέων<sup>1</sup> ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Καρχηδονίων παραπλησία χώρα. Κίρτα τέ ἐστιν ἐν μεσογαίᾳ, τὸ Μασσανάσσου<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν ἐξῆς διαδόχων βασίλαιοι, πόλις εὐερκεστάτη καὶ . . . . . ἄλως τοῖς πᾶσι, καὶ μάλιστα . . . . . καὶ Ἕλληνας συνώκισεν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τοσαύτην ἐποίησεν, ὥστ' ἐκπέμπειν μυρίους ἱππέας, διπλασίους δὲ πεζούς. ἢ τε δὴ Κίρτα ἐνταῦθα καὶ οἱ δύο Ἰππῶνες, ὁ μὲν πλησίον Ἰτύκης, ὁ δὲ ἀπωτέρω πρὸς τῷ<sup>3</sup> Τρητῷ μᾶλλον, ἄμφω βασιλεια. ἢ δὲ Ἰτύκη δευτέρα μετὰ Καρχηδόνα τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ ἀξιώματι καταλυθείσης δὲ Καρχηδόνος, ἐκείνη ἦν ὡς ἂν μητρόπολις τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ ὀρμητήριον πρὸς τὰς ἐν Λιβύῃ πράξεις. Ἰδρυται δ' ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κόλπῳ τῷ Καρχηδονιακῷ, πρὸς θατέρῳ τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων τῶν ποιούντων τὸν κόλπον, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρὸς τῇ Ἰτύκῃ καλοῦσιν Ἀπολλώνιον, θάτερον δ' Ἑρμαίαν· καὶ εἰσιν ἐν ἐπόψει<sup>4</sup> ἀλλήλαις αἱ πόλεις. ῥεῖ δὲ τῆς Ἰτύκης πλησίον ὁ Βαγράδας<sup>5</sup> ποταμός. εἰσὶ δ' ἀπὸ Τρητοῦ μέχρι Καρχηδόνος στάδιοι δισχίλιοι πεντακόσιοι. οὔτε<sup>6</sup> τοῦθ' ὁμολογεῖται δὲ τὸ διάστημα οὔτε τὸ μέχρι Σύρτεων.

14. Καὶ Καρχηδὼν δὲ ἐπὶ χερρονήσου τινὸς Ἰδρυται, περιγραφούσης κύκλον τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα σταδίων ἔχοντα τεῖχος, οὗ τὸ ἐξήκοντα-σταδίων μῆκος<sup>7</sup> αὐτὸς ὁ αὐχὴν ἐπέχει, καθήκον<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Μασυλιέων Ε, Μασσαιυλιών ω, Μασυλιαίων ζ, Μασσυλιαίων other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Μασσανάσσου, Kramer, for Μασσανάσσου ἰνω, Μασσανάσου μορζ, Ξανάσσου Ο, Μασανίσσου other MSS.

13. Now after Tretum one comes to the land of the Masylians, and to the land of the Carthaginians, which is similar thereto. Cirta, the royal residence of Masanasses and his successors, is in the interior; it is very strongly fortified and has been beautifully built up in every way, particularly by Micipsas, who not only settled a colony of Greeks in it, but also made it so great that it could send forth ten thousand cavalry and twice as many infantry. Cirta, then, is here, and so are the two Hippos, one near Itycê and the other farther away, rather towards Tretum; and both are royal residences. Itycê was second only to Carthage in size and importance, and when Carthage was destroyed, that city served the Romans as a metropolis, and as a base of operations for their activities in Libya. It is situated in the same gulf as Carthage, near one of the two promontories which form the gulf, of which the one near Itycê is called Apollonium and the other Hermaea; and the two cities are in sight of one another. Near Itycê flows the Bagradas River. The distance from Tretum to Carthage is two thousand five hundred stadia. But neither this distance nor that to the Syrtes is generally agreed upon.

14. Carthage, also, is situated on a kind of peninsula, which comprises a circuit of three hundred and sixty stadia; and this circuit has a wall; and sixty stadia of the length of this circuit are occupied by the neck itself, which extend from sea to

<sup>3</sup> τῶ, Corais, for τῇ.

<sup>4</sup> ἐν ὄψει E.

<sup>5</sup> Βαγρῶδας Ἰῆ, Μαγῶδρας ἡ, Βαγῶδρας other MSS.

<sup>6</sup> οὐτε, Corais, for οὐδέ.

<sup>7</sup> τεῖχος Dli.

<sup>8</sup> καθήκον, Groskurd, for καθήκων.

ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ὅπου τοῖς Καρχηδουίοις ἦσαν αἱ τῶν ἐλεφάντων στάσεις, καὶ τόπος εὐρυχωρής. κατὰ μέσσην δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἡ ἀκρόπολις, ἣν ἐκάλουν Βύρσαν, ὁφρὺς ἱκανῶς ὀρθία, κύκλῳ περιοικουμένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν κορυφὴν ἔχουσα Ἀσκληπιεῖον, ὅπερ κατὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἀσδρούβα συνέπρησεν αὐτῇ.<sup>1</sup> ὑπόκεινται δὲ τῇ ἀκροπόλει οἱ τε λιμένες καὶ ὁ Κώθων, νησίον περιφερὲς εὐρίπῳ περιεχόμενον, ἔχοντι<sup>2</sup> νεωσοίκους ἐκατέρωθεν κύκλῳ.

15. Κτίσμα δ' ἐστὶ Διδουὺς ἀγαγούσης ἐκ Τύρου λαόν· οὕτω δ' εὐτυχῆς ἡ ἀποικία τοῖς Φοίνιξιν ὑπῆρξε καὶ αὕτη καὶ ἡ μέχρι τῆς Ἰβηρίας τῆς τε ἄλλης καὶ τῆς ἔξω Στηλῶν, ὥστε τῆς Εὐρώπης ἔτι νῦν τὴν ἀρίστην νέμονται Φοίνικες κατὰ τὴν ἡπειρον καὶ τὰς προσεχείς νήσους, τὴν τε Λιβύην κατεκτήσαντο πᾶσαν, ὅσσην<sup>3</sup> μὴ νομαδικῶς οἶόν τ' ἦν οἰκεῖν. ἀφ' ἧς δυνάμεως πόλιν τε ἀντίπαλον τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατεσκευάσαντο καὶ τρεῖς ἐπολέμησαν μεγάλους πρὸς αὐτοὺς πολέμους. γένοιτο δ' ἂν εὐδηλος ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ ὑστάτου πολέμου, ἐν ᾧ κατελύθησαν ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἄρδην ἠφανίσθη. ὅτε

C 833 γὰρ ἤρξαντο πολεμεῖν τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον,<sup>4</sup> πόλεις μὲν εἶχον τριακοσίας ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, ἀνθρώπων δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει μυριάδας ἐβδομήκοντα· πολιορκούμενοι δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες τραπέσθαι πρὸς ἑνδοσιν, πανοπλιῶν μὲν ἔδοσαν μυριάδας

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ, Corais, for αὐτῇ.

<sup>2</sup> ἔχοντι, Corais, for ἔχον τε.

<sup>3</sup> ὅσσην E, ὅσον other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> πόλεμον EF, τρόπον other MSS.

sea; and this, a spacious place, is where the Carthaginians had their elephant-stalls. Near the middle of the city was the acropolis, which they called Byrsa;<sup>1</sup> it was a fairly steep height and inhabited on all sides, and at the top it had a temple of Asclepius, which, at the time of the capture of the city, the wife of Asdrubal burnt along with herself. Below the acropolis lie the harbours, as also Cothon, a circular isle surrounded by a strait, which latter has ship-houses all round on either side.<sup>2</sup>

15. Carthage was founded by Dido, who brought a host of people from Tyre. The colonisation proved to be so fortunate an enterprise for the Phoenicians, both this at Carthage and that which extended as far as Iberia—I mean the part of Iberia outside the Pillars as well as the rest of it—that even to this day the best part of continental Europe and also the adjacent islands are occupied by Phoenicians; and they also gained possession of all that part of Libya which men can live in without living a nomadic life. From this dominion they not only raised their city to be a rival of Rome, but also waged three great wars against the Romans. Their power might become clearly evident from the last war, in which they were defeated by Scipio Aemilianus and their city was utterly wiped out. For when they began to wage this war they had three hundred cities in Libya and seven hundred thousand people in their city; and when they were being besieged and were forced to resort to surrender, they gave up two hundred thousand full

<sup>1</sup> "Hide."

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* both on the island and on the mainland.

εἴκοσι, καταπελτικά δὲ ὄργανα τρισχίλια,<sup>1</sup> ὥς οὐ πολεμηθησόμενοι· κριθέντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἀναπολεμεῖν, ἐξαίφνης ὀπλοποίαν συνεστήσαντο, καὶ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀνεφέροντο θυρεοὶ μὲν ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα πεπηγότες, μάχαιραι δὲ τριακόσiai καὶ λόγχαι πεντακόσiai, χίλια δὲ βέλη καταπελτικά, τρίχα δὲ τοῖς καταπέλταις αἱ θεράπαιναι παρείχον. ἔτι τοίνυν ναῦς ἔχοντες δώδεκα ἑξ ἑτῶν πεντήκοντα κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ δευτέρῳ πολέμῳ συνθήκας, τότε, καίπερ ἤδη συμπεφευγότες εἰς τὴν Βύρσαν, ἐν διμήνῳ κατεσκευάσαντο ναῦς ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι καταφράκτους, καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Κώθωνος φρουρουμένου, διώρυξαν ἄλλο στόμα, καὶ προῆλθεν αἰφνιδίως ὁ στόλος· ὕλη γὰρ ἦν ἀποκειμένη παλαιὰ καὶ τεχνιτῶν πλήθος προσεδρεῦον καὶ σιταρχούμενον<sup>2</sup> δημοσίᾳ. τοιαύτη δ' οὕσα Καρχηδῶν ὅμως ἐάλω καὶ κατεσκάφη. τὴν δὲ χώραν, τὴν μὲν ἐπαρχίαν ἀπέδειξαν Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς Καρχηδουίοις, τῆς δὲ Μασανάσσην ἀπέδειξαν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους τοὺς περὶ Μικίψαν. μάλιστα γὰρ ἐσπουδάσθη παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μασανάσσης δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ φιλίαν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς Νομάδας πολιτικούς κατασκευάσας καὶ γεωργούς, ἔτι δ' ἀντὶ τοῦ ληστεύειν διδάξας στρατεύειν. ἴδιον γάρ τι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνέβη

<sup>1</sup> Polybius 36. 4 and Appian 80).

<sup>2</sup> σιταρχούμενον αα.

<sup>1</sup> See critical note.

suits of armour and three thousand<sup>1</sup> catapults, on the assumption that they would not be engaged in war again; but when they resolved to renew the war, they suddenly organised the manufacture of arms, and each day produced one hundred and forty finished shields, three hundred swords, five hundred spears, and one thousand missiles for the catapults; and the women-servants furnished hair for the catapults. Furthermore, although from fifty years back they had possessed only twelve ships, in accordance with the treaty made at the second war, they then, although they had already fled together for refuge into the Byrsa, built one hundred and twenty decked ships in two months; and since the mouth of Cothon was being guarded, they dug another mouth through and their fleet sallied forth unexpectedly; for old timber had been stored away in readiness, and a large number of skilled workmen, maintained at public expense, had been lying in wait for this occasion. But though Carthage was so resourceful, still it was captured and rased to the ground. As for the country, the Romans proclaimed one part of it a Province, I mean the part which had been subject to the Carthaginians, and appointed as sovereign of the other part Masanasses, as also his descendants, the house of Micipsas;<sup>2</sup> for Masanasses was held in very high respect among the Romans because of his valour and friendship; and indeed it was he who transformed the Nomads into citizens and farmers, and taught them to be soldiers instead of brigands. For a peculiar thing had hap-

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* the three sons: Micipsas king, Golossa head of the department of war, and Mastanaba head of the department of justice (Appian, § 106).

τούτοις· χώραν γὰρ οἰκοῦντες εὐδαίμονα, πλὴν τοῦ θηρίοις πλεονάζειν, ἐάσαντες ἐκφθεῖρειν<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐργάζεσθαι μετὰ ἀδείας ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτρέποντο, τὴν δὲ γῆν τοῖς θηρίοις ἀφείσαν. οὕτω δ' αὐτοῖς συνέβαινε πλάνητα καὶ μετανάστην βίον ζῆν, μηδὲν ἡττον τῶν ὑπὸ ἀπορίας καὶ λυπρότητος τόπων ἢ ἀέρων εἰς τοῦτο περισταμένων τῶν βίων, ὥστε καὶ ἴδιον τοῦθ' εὐρίσκεσθαι τοῦνομα τοὺς Μισαισυλίου, καλοῦνται γὰρ Νομάδες, ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς τριούτους εὐτελεῖς εἶναι τοῖς βίοις καὶ τὸ πλεον ῥιζοφάγους ἢ κρεωφάγους, γάλακτι δὲ καὶ τυρῷ τρεφομένους. ἡρημωμένης δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον τῆς Καρχηδόνος, καὶ σχεδὸν τι τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, ὅνπερ καὶ Κόρινθος, ἀνελήφθη πάλιν περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς πῶς χρόνους ὑπὸ Καίσαρος . . . ἐποίκουσ' Ῥωμαίων τοὺς στρατιωτῶν τινας· καὶ νῦν εἴ τις ἄλλη καλῶς οἰκεῖται τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων.

C 834 16. <sup>2</sup> Κατὰ μέσον δὲ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Καρχηδονίου κόλπου νήσός ἐστι Κόρσουρα. ἀντίπορθμος δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Σικελία τοῖς τόποις τούτοις ἢ κατὰ Λιλύβαιον, ὅσον ἐν διαστήματι χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων· τοσοῦτον γάρ φασι<sup>3</sup> τὸ ἐκ Λιλυβαίου μέχρι Καρχηδόνος. οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς Κορσούρας διέχουσιν οὐδὲ τῆς Σικελίας

<sup>1</sup> ἐκφθεῖρειν (as in 17. 1. 44), Jones, for ἐκφέρειν.

<sup>2</sup> Meineke ejects Κατὰ μέσον . . . Αἰγύμυρος from the text, following conj. of Kramer. <sup>3</sup> φασι F, φησι other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> "Nomades" ("Nomads") is the Greek name corresponding to the Latin "Numidae" ("Numidians").

pened in the case of these people, that is, although they lived in a country blest by nature, except for the fact that it abounded in wild animals, they would forbear to destroy these and thus work the land in security, and would turn against one another, abandoning the land to the wild animals. In this way it came to pass that they kept leading a wandering and migratory life, no less so than peoples who are driven by poverty and by wretched soil or climate to resort to this kind of life; so that the Masacesylians have obtained this as their special designation, for they are called Nomades.<sup>1</sup> Such people of necessity must lead a frugal life, being more often root-eaters than meat-eaters, and using milk and cheese for food. Be that as it may, Carthage for a long time remained desolate, about the same length of time as Corinth,<sup>2</sup> but it was restored again at about the same time as Corinth by the deified Caesar, who sent thither as colonists such Romans as preferred to go there and some soldiers; and now it is as prosperous a city as any other in Libya.

16. Opposite<sup>3</sup> the middle of the mouth of the Carthaginian Gulf is Corsura,<sup>4</sup> an island. Across the arm of the sea, opposite this region, is that part of Sicily wherein lies Lilybaeum, at a distance of about one thousand five hundred stadia; for the distance from Lilybaeum to Carthage is said to be as great as this. Not far distant from Corsura,

<sup>1</sup> Corinth was destroyed by L. Mummius in 146 B.C., but was restored by Julius Caesar and Augustus.

<sup>2</sup> This passage, "Opposite . . . other islands," is ejected from the text by Meineke (see critical note).

<sup>3</sup> "Corsura," unless it is here confused in some way with Cossura (Pantellaria), is otherwise unknown.



# STRABO

ἄλλαι τε νῆσοι καὶ Αἰγίμουρος.<sup>1</sup> διάπλους δ' ἐστὶν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης ἐξήκοντα σταδίων εἰς τὴν προσεχῇ περὰ ἰαν, ὅθεν εἰς Νέφεριν ἀνά-  
 βασις σταδίων ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι, πόλιν<sup>2</sup> ἐρυμνὴν ἐπὶ πέτρας ὠκισμένην. ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ κόλπῳ, ἐν ᾧ περ καὶ ἡ Καρχηδών, Τύνις ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ θερμὰ καὶ λατομίαι τινές· εἴθ' ἡ Ἐρμαία ἄκρα τραχεῖα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ<sup>3</sup> πόλις ὁμώνυμος· εἴτα Νεάπολις· εἴτ' ἄκρα Ταφίτις, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ λόφος Ἀσπίς καλούμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοιότητος, ὅν περ συνώκισεν ὁ τῆς Σικελίας τύραννος Ἀγαθοκλῆς, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπέπλευσε τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις. συγκατεσπίασθησαν δὲ τῇ Καρχηδονίᾳ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αἱ πόλεις αὗται. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ταφί-  
 τιδος ἐν τετρακοσίοις σταδίοις νήσός ἐστι Κόρ-  
 σουρος<sup>4</sup> κατὰ Σελινούντα τῆς Σικελίας ποταμόν, καὶ πόλιν ἔχουσα ὁμώνυμον, ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντή-  
 κοντα σταδίων οὔσα<sup>5</sup> τὴν περίμετρον, διέχουσα τῆς Σικελίας περὶ ἑξακοσίου σταδίου· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Μελίτη νήσος ἐν πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Κοσσουρου.<sup>6</sup> εἴτα Ἀδρύμης<sup>7</sup> πόλις, ἐν ᾗ καὶ νεώρια ἦν· εἴθ' αἱ Ταριχεῖαι λεγόμεναι, νησία πολλὰ καὶ πυκνά· εἴτα Θάψος πόλις, καὶ μετὰ ταύτην νήσος πελαγία Λοπαδοῦσσα· εἴτα ἄκρα

<sup>1</sup> Αἰγίμουρος F.

<sup>2</sup> δ', after πόλιν, Cornis omits.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτῆς E, αὐτὴν other MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Κόρσουρα μοζ.

<sup>5</sup> οὔσαν MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Κοσσούρας μοζ.

<sup>7</sup> Ἀδρυμῆς F, Ἀδρύμις λίω, Ἀδρυμῆς E, Ἀδρύμη μοζ.

<sup>1</sup> Al Djamur.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. apparently the eastern side of the Carthaginian Gulf.

<sup>3</sup> Tunis, or Tunes, was situated to the south of Carthage and at the head of a vast marshy lagoon.

nor yet from Sicily, are Aegimuros<sup>1</sup> and other islands. The voyage from Carthage across to the nearest point of the opposite mainland<sup>2</sup> is sixty stadia, from which the journey inland to Nepheris is one hundred and twenty stadia—a city fortified by nature and built upon a rock. But on the same gulf as that on which Carthage is situated lies a city Tynis,<sup>3</sup> as also hot springs and stone-quarries; and then one comes to the rugged promontory Hermaca, and to a city on it bearing the same name; and then to Neapolis; and then to a promontory Taphitis, and to a hill on it, which, from the resemblance, is called Aspis;<sup>4</sup> this is the hill that Agathocles, the tyrant of Sicily, colonised at the time when he sailed against the Carthaginians. But these cities were demolished by the Romans at the same time as Carthage. At a distance of four hundred stadia from Taphitis lies an island Cossurus,<sup>5</sup> opposite the Selinus River in Sicily, and a city bearing the same name, which is one hundred and fifty stadia in circuit and is about six hundred stadia distant from Sicily; and there is also an island Melitê<sup>6</sup> at a distance of five hundred stadia from the island Cossurus.<sup>7</sup> Then one comes to a city Adrymes,<sup>8</sup> at which there was also a naval arsenal; and then to the Taricheiae, as they are called, which are numerous small islands lying close together; and then to a city Thapsus; and after this to Lopadussa, an island in the open sea; and then to a promontory

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "Shield."

<sup>2</sup> The same, apparently, as Cossura (cp. 2. 5. 19 and 6. 2. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Malta.

<sup>7</sup> See preceding footnote.

<sup>8</sup> Also called Adrumetum.

\*Αμμωνος Βαλίθωνος, πρὸς ἣ θυννοσκοπεῖον.<sup>1</sup> εἶτα Θένα<sup>2</sup> πόλις παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν κειμένη τῆς μικρᾶς Σύρτεως. πολλαὶ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλαι μεταξὺ πολίχναι οὐκ ἄξιαι μνήμης. παράκειται δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς Σύρτεως νῆσος παραμύκης, ἡ Κέρκιννα,<sup>3</sup> εὐμεγέθης, ἔχουσα ὁμώνυμον πόλιν, καὶ ἄλλη ἐλάττων Κερκιννίτις.<sup>4</sup>

17. Συνεχῆς δ' ἐστὶν ἡ μικρὰ Σύρτις, ἣν καὶ Λωτοφαγίτιν Σύρτιν λέγουσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν κύκλος τοῦ κόλπου τούτου σταδίων χιλίων ἑξακοσίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος τοῦ στόματος ἑξακοσίων καθ' ἑκατέραν δὲ<sup>5</sup> τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ποιοῦσαν τὸ στόμα προσεχεῖς εἰσὶ τῇ ἡπείρῳ νῆσοι, ἣ τε λεχθεῖσα Κέρκιννα καὶ ἡ Μήνιγξ, πάρισοι τοῖς μεγέθεσι. τὴν δὲ Μήνιγγα νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν τῶν Λωτοφάγων γῆν τὴν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγομένην, καὶ δείκνυται τινα σύμβολα, καὶ βωμὸς Ὀδυσσεως καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ καρπός· πολὺ γάρ ἐστι τὸ δένδρον ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ καλούμενον λωτόν, ἔχον ἡδιστον καρπόν. πλείους δ' εἰσὶν ἐν αὐτῇ πολίχναι, C 835 μία δ' ὁμώνυμος τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ Σύρτει πολίχναι τινές εἰσι. κατὰ δὲ τὸν μυχόν ἐστι παμμέγεθες ἐμπόριον, ποταμὸν ἔχον ἐμβάλλοντα εἰς τὸν κόλπον· διατείνει δὲ μέχρι δεῦρο τὰ τῶν ἀμπώτεων πάθη καὶ τῶν πλημμυρίδων, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν ἰχθύων ἐπιπηδῶσιν οἱ πρόσχωροι κατὰ σπουδὴν θέοντες.

18. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν Ζοῦχίς ἐστι λίμνη

<sup>1</sup> ἢ θυννοσκοπεῖον, οονj. Kramer, for θυννοσκοπίαν ; E reads ἐν ἣ θυννοσκοπία.

<sup>2</sup> Θένα, Cotaïs, for Θαίνα.

<sup>3</sup> Κέρκιννα F.

<sup>4</sup> Κερκινίτις F, Κερκινῆτις i.

of Ammon Balithon, near which is a place for watching for the tunny-fish;<sup>1</sup> and then to a city Thena, which lies near the beginning of the Little Syrtis. In the interval lie numerous small towns not worth mentioning. Near the beginning of the Syrtis lies a long island, Cercinna, which is rather large and contains a city of the same name; and there is another smaller island, Cercinnitis.

17. Continuous with these is the Little Syrtis, which is also called the Syrtis of the Lotus-eaters. The circuit of this gulf is one thousand six hundred stadia, and the breadth of the mouth six hundred; and at each of the two promontories which form its mouth are islands close to the mainland—the Cercinna above-mentioned and Meninx, which are about equal in size. Meninx is regarded as the land of the Lotus-eaters mentioned by Homer; and certain tokens of this are pointed out—both an altar of Odysseus and the fruit itself; for the tree which is called the lotus abounds in the island, and its fruit is delightful. There are several towns on Meninx, and one of them bears the same name as the island. On the coast of the Syrtis itself are several small towns. In the recess of the gulf is a very large emporium, which has a river that empties into the gulf; and the effects of the flow and ebb of the tides extend thus far, at which times the neighbouring inhabitants rush forth on the run to catch the fish.

18. After the Syrtis, one comes to Zuchis, a lake

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 5. 2. 6, 8.

<sup>2</sup> δέ, omitted by MSS. except *z*.

σταδίων τετρακοσίων στενὸν ἔχουσα εἴσπλουν καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν πόλις ὁμώνυμος πορφυροβαφεῖα ἔχουσα καὶ ταριχείας παντοδαπάς· εἴτ' ἄλλη λίμνη πολὺ ἐλάττων· καὶ μετὰ ταύτην Ἀβρότονον πόλις καὶ ἄλλαι τινές, συνεχῶς δὲ Νεάπολις, ἣν καὶ Λέπτιν καλοῦσιν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐστὶ διάρμα τὸ ἐπὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων τρισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι στάδιοι. ἐξῆς δ' ἐστὶ ποταμός· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διατείχισμά τι, ὃ ἐποίησαν Καρχηδόνιοι, γεφυροῦντες βάραθρά<sup>1</sup> τινα εἰς τὴν χώραν ἀνέχοντα· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἀλίμενοί τινες ἐνταῦθα τόποι, τῆς ἄλλης παραλίας ἐχούσης λιμένας. εἴτ' ἄκρα ὑψηλὴ καὶ ὑλώδης, ἀρχὴ τῆς μεγάλης Σύρτεως, καλοῦσι δὲ Κεφαλάς· εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἄκραν ἐκ Καρχηδόνης στάδιοί εἰσι μικρῷ πλείους τῶν πεντακισχιλίων.

19. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ Καρχηδόνης παραλίας μέχρι Κεφαλῶν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Μασσαισυλίων<sup>2</sup> ἢ τῶν Λιβυφοινίκων γῆς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Γαιτούλων<sup>3</sup> ὀρεινῆς, ἥδη Λιβυκῆς οὐσης. ἢ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν Γαιτούλων ἐστὶν ἢ τῶν Γαραμάντων γῆς παράλληλος ἐκείνη, ὅθεν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι κομίζονται λίθοι. τοὺς δὲ Γαράμαντας ἀπὸ τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν τῶν<sup>4</sup> παρωκεανιτῶν ἀφεστάναι φασὶν ἡμερῶν ἐννέα ἢ καὶ δέκα ὁδόν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀμμωνος καὶ πεντεκαίδεκα. μετὰξὺ δὲ τῆς Γαιτούλων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> βάθρα Dhi.

<sup>2</sup> Μασσαισυλίαν, Kramer, for Μασσαισυλείων F, Μασσαισυλίων other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Γαιτούλων, Xylander, for Γετούλων.

<sup>4</sup> καί, before τῶν, Meineke omits.

with a circuit of four hundred stadia; it has a narrow entrance, and near it is a city bearing the same name which contains dye-factories and all kinds of fish-salting establishments; and then to another lake, which is much smaller; and after this to a city Abrotonum and to several others; and contiguous to these is Neapolis, which is also called Leptis; and from here the passage across to the Epizephyrian Locrians is three thousand six hundred stadia. Next in order one comes to a river;<sup>1</sup> and afterwards to a kind of cross-wall which the Carthaginians built, wishing to bridge over some gorges which extend up into the interior. There are also some harbourless regions here, although the rest of the coast has harbours. Then one comes to a lofty, wooded promontory, which forms the beginning of the Great Syrtis and is called Cephalæ;<sup>2</sup> and the distance to this promontory from Carthage is a little more than five thousand stadia.

19. Above the coast-line which extends from Carthage to Cephalæ and to the land of Masaesylians lies the land of the Libo-Phoenicians, which extends to the mountainous country of the Gaetulians, where Libya<sup>3</sup> begins. The land above the Gaetulians is that of the Garamantes, which lies parallel to the former and is the land whence the Carthaginian stones are brought.<sup>4</sup> The Garamantes are said to be distant from the Aethiopians who live on the ocean a nine or ten days' journey, and from Ammon fifteen. Between the Gaetulians and our seaboard<sup>5</sup> there

<sup>2</sup> "Heads."

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* the true Libya, as distinguished from Libo-Phoenicia.

<sup>4</sup> See 17. 3. 11.

<sup>5</sup> *i.e.* the Mediterranean seaboard.

τῆς ἡμετέρας παραλίας πολλὰ μὲν πεδία, πολλὰ δὲ ὄρη καὶ λίμναι μεγάλαι καὶ ποταμοί, ὧν τινες καὶ καταδύντες ὑπὸ γῆς ἀφανεῖς γίνονται. λιτοὶ δὲ σφόδρα τοῖς βίοις εἰσὶ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ, πολυγύναικες δὲ καὶ πολύπαιδες, τὰλλα δὲ ἐμφερεῖς τοῖς νομάσι τῶν Ἀράβων· καὶ ἵπποι δὲ καὶ βόες μακροτραχηλότεροι<sup>1</sup> τῶν παρ' ἄλλοις. ἵπποφόρβια δ' ἐστὶν ἐσπουνδασμένα διαφερόντως τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὥστε καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐξετάζεσθαι πώλων κατ' ἔτος εἰς μυριάδας δέκα. τὰ δὲ πρόβατα γάλακτι καὶ κρέασιν ἐκτρέφεται, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τοῖς Αἰθίοψι. τοιαῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ.

20. Ἡ δὲ μεγάλη Σύρτις τὸν μὲν κύκλον ἔχει σταδίων τρισχιλίων<sup>2</sup> ἐννακοσίων τριάκοντά που, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν διάμετρον χιλίων πεντακοσίων, τοσοῦτον δὲ που καὶ τὸ τοῦ στόματος πλάτος. ἡ χαλεπότης δὲ καὶ ταύτης τῆς Σύρτεως καὶ τῆς μικρᾶς, ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τεναγώδης ἐστὶν ὁ βυθὸς καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀμπώτεις καὶ τὰς πλημμυρίδας συμβαίνει τισὶν ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὰ βράχη καὶ καθίζειν, σπάνιον δ' εἶναι τὸ σωζόμενον σκάφος. διόπερ πόρρωθεν τὸν παράπλου ποιοῦνται, φυλαττόμενοι, μὴ ἐμπέσοιεν εἰς τοὺς κόλπους ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀφύλακτοι ληφθέντες· τὸ μέντοι παρακίνδυνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων διαπειρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν παρὰ γῆν περίπλων· εἰσπλέοντι δὴ τὴν μεγάλην Σύρτιν ἐν δεξιᾷ μετὰ τὰς Κεφαλὰς ἐστὶ λίμνη τριακοσίων που σταδίων τὸ μῆκος, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ τὸ πλάτος, ἐκδιδοῦσα εἰς τὸν κόλπον,

<sup>1</sup> ' . . . . . " CDhs.  
<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

are not only many plains, but also many mountains, large lakes, and rivers, some of which sink beneath the earth and become invisible. The inhabitants are very simple in their modes of life and in their dress; but the men have many wives and many children, and in other respects are like the nomadic Arabians; and both horses and cattle have longer necks than those of other countries. Horse-breeding is followed with such exceptional interest by the kings that the number of colts every year amounts to one hundred thousand. The sheep are brought up on milk and meats, particularly in the regions near Aethiopia. Such is my account of the interior.

20. The Great Syrtis has a circuit of about three thousand and nine hundred and thirty stadia, and a diameter, to the inmost recess, of one thousand five hundred stadia, and also a breadth at the mouth of about one thousand five hundred. The difficulty with both this Syrtis and the Little Syrtis is that in many places their deep waters contain shallows, and the result is, at the ebb and the flow of the tides, that sailors sometimes fall into the shallows and stick there, and that the safe escape of a boat is rare. On this account sailors keep at a distance when voyaging along the coast, taking precautions not to be caught off their guard and driven by winds into these gulfs. However, the disposition of man to take risks causes him to try anything in the world, and particularly voyages along coasts. Now as one sails into the Great Syrtis, on the right, after Cephalae is passed, one comes to a lake about three hundred stadia in length and seventy in breadth, which empties into the gulf and contains both small islands



ἔχουσα καὶ νησία καὶ ὕφορμον πρὸ τοῦ στόματος. μετὰ δὲ τὴν λίμνην τόπος ἐστὶν Ἀσπίς καὶ λιμὴν κάλλιστος τῶν ἐν τῇ Σύρτει. συνεχῆς δὲ ὁ Εὐφράντας πύργος ἐστίν, ὅριον τῆς πρότερον Καρχηδονίας γῆς καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας τῆς ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίῳ εἰτ' ἄλλος τόπος, Χάραξ καλούμενος, ὃ ἐμπορίῳ ἐχρῶντο ἔτι καὶ ἄλλοι οἰνον, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ παρακομιζόντων· εἴθ' οἱ Φιλαίνων βωμοί· καὶ μετὰ τούτους Αὐτόμαλα, φρούριον φυλακὴν ἔχον, ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸν μυχὸν τοῦ κόλπου παντός. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ διὰ τοῦ μυχοῦ τούτου παράλληλος, τοῦ μὲν δι' Ἀλεξανδρείας μικρῷ νοτιώτερος, χιλίοις σταδίοις, τοῦ δὲ διὰ Καρχηδόνης ἐλάττωσιν ἢ δισχιλίοις· συμπίπτει<sup>1</sup> δ' ἀντὶ τῇ μὲν καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν τὴν ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, τῇ δὲ κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαιαν τῶν Μασαισυλίων<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν Μαυρουσίων.<sup>3</sup> τὸ λειπόμενον ἤδη τῆς παραλίας ἐστὶν εἰς πόλιν Βερενίκην στάδιοι χίλιοι<sup>4</sup> πεντακόσιοι. ὑπέρκεινται δὲ τοῦ μήκους τοῦδε<sup>5</sup> παρήκοντες καὶ μέχρι τῶν Φιλαίνου βωμῶν οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Νασαμώνες, Λιβυκὸν ἔθνος· ἔχει δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ διάστημα καὶ λιμένας οὐ πολλοὺς ὑδρεῖά τε σπάνια. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄκρα λεγομένη Ψευδοπευιάς,<sup>6</sup> ἐφ' ἧς ἡ Βερενίκη τὴν θέσιν ἔχει παρὰ λίμνην τινὰ Τριτωνιάδα, ἐν ᾗ μάλιστα νησίον ἐστὶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> συμπίπτει, Jones, for πίπτει.      <sup>2</sup> Μασαισύλων MSS.

<sup>3</sup> ὅπου, before τὸ λειπόμενον, Kramer ejects.

<sup>4</sup> χίλιοι, Lebronne, for ἑννακισχίλιοι.

<sup>5</sup> πλάτους, after τοῦδε, the editors omit.

<sup>6</sup> Ψευδοπευσίας E.

and a mooring place in front of its mouth. After the harbour one comes to a place called Aspis,<sup>1</sup> and to the finest harbour in the Syrtis. Continuous with this is the Euphrantas Tower, the boundary between the former country of the Cyrenæan country as it is called, and then one comes to another place, called Charax, which the Carthaginians used as an emporium, taking wine thither and in exchange receiving loads of silphium-juice and silphium from merchants who brought them clandestinely from Cyrenê; and then to the Altars of the Philaeni; and after these to Automala, a stronghold which has a garrison and is situated at the inmost recess of the whole gulf. The parallel of latitude through this gulf is a little more to the south than that through Alexandria, one thousand stadia, and than that through Carthage, less than two thousand stadia; but it would coincide with the parallel which passes through the Heroönpolis situated on the recess of the Arabian Gulf and through the interior of the countries of the Masæsylians and the Maurusians. The remainder of the coast from here on to the city Berenicê is one thousand five hundred stadia in length. Lying inland above this stretch of coast, and extending even as far as the Altars of the Philaeni, is the country of the Nasamones, as they are called, a Libyan tribe. In the intervening distance there are only a few harbours; and the watering-places are scarce. There is, however, a promontory called Pseudo-penias, on which Berenicê is situated, near a certain lake, Tritonias, in which the principal things

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* "Shield."<sup>2</sup> See 17. 1. 5.

ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐν αὐτῷ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 λιμὴν<sup>1</sup> Ἑσπερίδων, καὶ ποταμὸς ἐμβάλλει  
 Λάθων. ἐνδοτέρω δὲ τῆς Βερενίκης ἐστὶ τὸ  
 μικρὸν ἄκρωτήριον λεγόμενον Βόρειον, ὃ ποιεῖ  
 τὸ στόμα τῆς Σύρτεως πρὸς τὰς Κεφαλὰς.  
 κεῖται δὲ ἡ Βερενίκη κατὰ τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Πελοπον-  
 νήσου, κατὰ τὸν καλούμενον Ἰχθύν· καὶ ἔτι κατὰ  
 τὴν Ζάκυνθον, ἐν διάρματι σταδίων τρισχιλίων  
 ἑξακοσίων. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως τριακοσταῖος  
 πεζῇ περιώδευσε τὴν Σύρτιν Μάρκος Κίτων, κατὰ-  
 γων στρατιὰν πλειόνων ἢ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν, εἰς μέρη  
 διελὼν τῶν ὑδρείων χάριν· ὥδευσε δὲ πεζὸς ἐν  
 ἄμμφ βαθεῖα καὶ καύμασι. μετὰ δὲ Βερενίκην  
 πόλις ἐστὶ Ταύχειρα,<sup>2</sup> ἣν καὶ Ἀρσινόην καλοῦσιν·  
 O 837 εἰθ' ἡ Βάρκη πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Πτολεμαῖς· εἰτα  
 Φυκοὺς ἄκρα, ταπεινὴ μὲν, πλείστον δ' ἐκκειμένη<sup>3</sup>  
 πρὸς ἄρκτον παρὰ τὴν ἄλλην Λιβυκὴν παραλίαν·  
 κεῖται δὲ κατὰ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν διάρ-  
 ματι δισχιλίων ὀκτακοσίων σταδίων· ἔστι δὲ  
 καὶ πολίχνιον ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἄκρᾳ. οὐ πολὺ δὲ  
 τοῦ Φυκοῦντος ἀπέχει τὸ τῶν Κυρήναιων ἐπίνειον  
 ἢ Ἀπολλωνία,<sup>4</sup> ὅσον ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα  
 σταδίοις, τῆς δὲ Βερενίκης χιλίοις, τῆς δὲ Κυρήνης  
 ὀγδοήκοντα, πόλεως μεγάλης ἐν τραπεζοειδεῖ  
 πεδίῳ κειμένης, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ἐωρῶμεν  
 αὐτήν.

<sup>1</sup> For λιμην, Dodwell conj. λιμνη, and Kramer and Meineke so write (but see Kramer's note).

<sup>2</sup> Ταύχειρα E, Τάρχειρα ODFHizw, Τεύχειρα other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> δ' ἐκκειμένη, Casaubon, for δὲ κειμένη.

<sup>4</sup> Ἀπολλωνία (as in § 21 following), Meineke, for Ἀπολλωνιάς.

are an isle and on it a temple of Aphroditê. In this region are also the Harbour<sup>1</sup> of the Hesperides and the river Lathon which empties into it. Farther inside<sup>2</sup> than Berenicê lies the small promontory called Boreium, which with Cephalae forms the mouth of the Syrtis. Berenicê lies opposite the promontories of the Peloponnesus, opposite Ichthys, as it is called, and also opposite Zacynthos, the distance across being three thousand six hundred<sup>3</sup> stadia. Setting out from this city Marcus Cato travelled round the Syrtis by land in thirty days,<sup>4</sup> leading an army of more than ten thousand men, having separated them into divisions on account of the scarcity of watering-places; and he travelled on foot in deep sand and scorching heat. After Berenicê one comes to a city Taucheira, which is also called Arsinoê; and then to a city formerly called Barcê, but now Ptolemaïs; and then to a promontory Phycus, which is low-lying and projects farthest towards the north as compared with the rest of the Libyan coast; it lies opposite Taenarum in Laconia, the distance across being two thousand and eight hundred stadia; and there is also a small town which bears the same name as the promontory. Not far distant from Phycus is the naval station of the Cyrenaeans, Apollonia, about one hundred and seventy stadia from Phycus, one thousand from Berenicê, and eighty from Cyrenê, a large city situated in a trapezium-shaped plain, as it looked to me from the sea.

<sup>1</sup> Some would emend "Harbour" to "Lake" (see critical note).

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* inside the Syrtis, towards the south (see Map XV, end of vol.).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. 10. 2. 18.

<sup>4</sup> In 47 B.C., on his march to join Metellus Scipio.

21. Ἔστι δὲ Θηραίων κτίσμα, Λακωνικῆς νήσου, ἣν καὶ Καλλίστην ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν, ὥς φησι καὶ Καλλίμαχος·

Καλλίστη τὸ πάροιθε, τὸ δ' ὕστερον οὖνομα  
Θήρη,  
μήτηρ εὐίππου πατρίδος ἡμετέρης.

κεῖται δὲ τὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐπίνειον κατὰ τὸ ἐσπέριον τῆς Κρήτης ἄκρον, τὸ τοῦ Κριοῦ μέτωπον, ἐν διάρματι δισχιλίων<sup>1</sup> σταδίων· ὁ πλοῦς Λευκονότῳ. λέγεται δὲ ἡ Κυρήνη κτίσμα Βάττου· πρόγονον δὲ τούτου ἑαυτοῦ φάσκει Καλλίμαχος· ἠϋξήθη δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας· καὶ γὰρ ἵπποτρόφος ἐστὶν ἀρίστη καὶ καλλίκαρπος, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνδρας ἀξιολόγους ἔσχε καὶ δυναμένους ἐλευθερίας ἀξιολόγως προῖστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερκειμένους βαρβάρους ἰσχυρῶς ἀντέχειν. τὸ μὲν οὖν παλαιὸν αὐτόνομος ἦν ἡ πόλις· εἶτα οἱ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατασχόντες Μακεδόνες αὐξηθέντες ἐπέθεντο αὐτοῖς, ἀρξάντων τῶν περὶ Θίβρωνα τῶν ἀνελόντων τὸν Ἀρπαλον· βασιλευθέντες δὲ χρόνους τινὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν ἦλθον, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐπαρχία τῇ Κρήτῃ  
καὶ Κυρήνῃς ἐστὶ περιπόλια  
ἡ Βάρκη καὶ ἡ Ταύχειρα<sup>2</sup>  
καὶ Βερενίκη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πολίχνη τὰ πλησίον.

22. Ὀμορεῖ δὲ τῇ Κυρηναίᾳ ἡ τὸ σίλφιον φέρουσα καὶ τὸν ὀπὸν τὸν Κυρηναῖον, ὃν ἐκφέρει τὸ σίλφιον ὀπισθέν. ἐγγὺς δ' ἦλθε τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν, ἐπελθόντων τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ ἔχθραν τινὰ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ἑκατὸν δισχιλίων for χιλίων (α).

<sup>2</sup> Ταύχειρα καὶ Βάρκη, Teuchira nos.

21. Cyrenê was founded by colonists from Thera, a Laconian island, which in ancient times was called Callistê, as Callimachus says: "Callistê was its first name, but its later name was Thera, mother of my fatherland, famed for its good horses." The naval station of the Cyrenacans lies opposite the western promontory of Crete, Criume-ton, the distance across being two thousand stadia. The voyage is made with *Leuconotus*.<sup>1</sup> Cyrenê is said to have been founded by Battus;<sup>2</sup> and Callimachus asserts that Battus was his ancestor. Cyrenê grew strong because of the fertility of its territory, for it is excellent for the breeding of horses and produces beautiful fruit, and it had many men who were noteworthy and who were able to defend its liberty in a noteworthy manner and to resist strongly the barbarians who lived above them. Now in ancient times the city was independent; and then the Macedonians, who had taken possession of Aegypt, grew in power and attacked the Cyrenaeans, under the leadership of Thibron and his associates, who had slain Harpalus; and having been ruled by kings for some time the city came under the power of the Romans and is now joined with Crete into one Province. But Apollonia, Barcê, Taucheira, Berenicê, and the other towns near by, are dependencies of Cyrenê.

22. Bordering on Cyrenaea is the country which produces silphium and the Cyrenacan juice, which latter is produced by the silphium through the extraction of its juice. But it came near giving out when the barbarians invaded the country be-

<sup>1</sup> A south wind (see 1. 2. 21).

<sup>2</sup> About 631 B.C.

φθειράντων<sup>1</sup> τὰς ρίζας τοῦ φυτοῦ. εἰσὶ δὲ νομάδες. ἄνδρες δ' ἐγένοντο γνώριμοι Κυρηναῖοι Ἀρίστιππός τε ὁ Σωκρατικός, ὅστις καὶ τὴν Κυρηναϊκὴν κατεβάλετο φιλοσοφίαν, καὶ θυγάτηρ, Ἀρήτη τοῦνομα, ἥπερ διεδέξατο τὴν σχολήν, καὶ ὁ ταύτην πάλιν διαδεξάμενος υἱὸς Ἀρίστιππος, ὁ κληθεὶς Μητροδίδακτος, καὶ Ἀννίκερις, ὁ δοκῶν ἐπανορθῶσαι τὴν Κυρηναϊκὴν αἵρεσιν καὶ παραγαγεῖν αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀννικερίαν. Κυρηναῖος δ' C 838 ἐστὶ καὶ Καλλίμαχος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης, ἀμφοτέρουι τετιμημένοι παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῦσιν, ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς ἅμα καὶ περὶ γραμματικὴν ἐσπουδακώς, ὁ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ περὶ φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὰ μαθήματα, εἴ τις ἄλλος, διαφέρων. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Καρνεάδης (οὗτος δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀκαδημίας ἄριστος φιλοσόφων ὁμολογεῖται) καὶ ὁ Κρόνος δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος ἐκεῖθεν ἐστίν, ὁ τοῦ διαλεκτικοῦ Διοδώρου διδάσκαλος, τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ Κρόνου προσαγορευθέντος, μετενεγκάντων τινῶν τὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου ἐπίθετον ἐπὶ τὸν μαθητὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἐστὶν ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν Κυρηναίων παραλία μέχρι Καταβαθμοῦ σταδίων δισχιλίων διακοσίων, οὐ πάνυ εὐπαραπλούς· καὶ γὰρ λιμένες ὀλίγοι καὶ ὕφορμοι καὶ κατοικίαι καὶ ὑδρεῖα. τῶν δὲ μάλιστα . . . . . κατὰ τὸν παράπλου τόπων τό . . . . . ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ Ζεφύριον πρόσορμον ἔχον καὶ ἄλλο Ζεφύριον καὶ ἄκρα Χερρόνησος λιμένα ἔχουσα· κεῖται δὲ

<sup>1</sup> φθειρόντων E.

cause of some grudge and destroyed the roots of the plant. The inhabitants are nomads. The Cyrenaeans who became famous were Aristippus the Socratic philosopher, who also laid the foundations of the Cyrenaic philosophy; and his daughter, Aretê by name, who succeeded him as head of the school; and again her son Aristippus, Aretê's successor, who was called Mêtrodidactus;<sup>1</sup> and Anniceris, who is reputed to have revised the doctrines of the Cyrenaic sect and to have introduced in place of it those of the Annicerian sect. Callimachus, also, was a Cyrenaeon, and Eratosthenes, both of whom were held in honour by the Aegyptian kings, the former being a poet and at the same time a zealous student of letters, and the latter being superior, not only in these respects, but also in philosophy, and in mathematics, if ever a man was. Furthermore, Carneades, who by common agreement was the best of the Academic philosophers, and also Apollonius Cronus, were from Cyrenê, the latter being the teacher of Diodorus the Dialectician, who also was given the appellation "Cronus," certain persons having transferred the epithet of the teacher to the pupil. After Apollonia one comes to the remainder of the coast of the Cyrenaeans, which extends as far as Catabathmus, a distance of two thousand two hundred stadia; the coasting-voyage is not at all easy, for there are but few harbours, mooring-places, settlements, and watering-places. Among the places along the coast that are best known are Naustathmus and Zephyrium, which has anchorage, and a second Zephyrium, and a promontory Cherronesus, which has a harbour. This

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, "Mother-laught."



κατὰ Κύκλον<sup>1</sup> τῆς Κρήτης ἐν διάρματι χιλίων  
καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων νότῳ· εἶτα Ἡράκλειόν τι  
ἱερὸν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κόμη Παλίουρος· εἶτα λιμὴν  
Μενέλαος καὶ Ἀρδανίς,<sup>2</sup> ἄκρα ταπεινὴ ὕψομον  
ἔχουσα· εἶτα μέγας λιμὴν, καθ' ὃν ἢ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ  
Χερρόνησος ἵδρυται, δισχιλίων<sup>3</sup> που σταδίων  
διάρμα ἀπολείπουσα μεταξύ· ὅλη γὰρ σχεδὸν τι  
τῇ παραλίᾳ ταύτῃ ἀντίκειται παρίλληλος ἢ  
Κ- - - - - μακρά. μετὰ δὲ τὸν μέγαν λιμένα  
... .. υἱος, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν Ἑτρα-  
πυργία·<sup>4</sup> καλεῖται δὲ ὁ τόπος Κατάβαθμος·  
μέχρι δεῦρο ἢ Κυρηναία. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη  
μέχρι Παραιτουίου, κακείθεν εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν,  
εἴρηται ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς.

23. Τὴν δ' ὑπερκειμένην ἐν βάθει χώραν τῆς  
Σύρτεως καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας κατέχουσιν οἱ Λίβυες,  
παράλυτρον καὶ αὐχμηράν· πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ Νασ-  
αμῶνες, ἔπειτα Ψύλλοι καὶ τινες Γαίτουλοι,<sup>5</sup>  
ἔπειτα Γαράμαντες· πρὸς ἧς δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ  
Μαρμαρίδαι,<sup>6</sup> προσχωροῦντες ἐπὶ πλεον τῇ Κυρη-  
ναίᾳ καὶ παρατείνοντες μέχρι Ἀμμωνος. τεταρ-  
ταίους μὲν οὖν φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ τῆς μεγάλης  
Σύρτεως τοῦ κατ' Αὐτόμαλά πως<sup>7</sup> βαδίζοντας ὥς

<sup>1</sup> For Κύκλον, Corais (citing 8. 5. 1) writes Κόρυκον; but Kramer rightly objects, proposing Μάταλον instead.

<sup>2</sup> Ἀρδανίς, Meineke, following Kramer, for Ἀρδανίσις.

<sup>3</sup> δισχιλίων, Letronne and most later editors, for τρισχιλίων.

<sup>4</sup> The words καλεῖται . . . Κυρηναία are rightly transposed from a position after Ἀλεξανδρείαν by Kramer, who also omits ἢ καὶ before εἴρηται.

<sup>5</sup> Γέτουλοι MSS.

<sup>6</sup> Μαρμαρίδαι E, Μαρμαρίται other MSS.

promontory lies opposite to Cyclus;<sup>1</sup> in Crete; and the distance across is more than five hundred stadia if one has a south-west wind; and then one comes to a kind of temple of Heracles, and, above it, to a village called Paliurus; and then one comes to a harbour, Menelatis, and to Ardanis, which is a low-lying promontory with a mooring-place; and then to a large harbour, opposite which lies the Cherronesus in Crete, the interval between the two places being about two<sup>2</sup> thousand stadia; indeed, I might almost say that Crete as a whole, being narrow and long, lies opposite, and parallel, to this coast. After the large harbour one comes to another harbour, which is called Plynus, and above it lies Tetrapyrgia;<sup>3</sup> but the place is called Catabathmus; and Cyrenaca extends thus far. The remaining part of the coast, extending to Paraetonium and thence to Alexandria, I have already mentioned in my account of Egypt.

23. The country lying deep in the interior above the Syrtis and Cyrenaca, a barren and arid region, is occupied by the Libyans: first by the Nasamones, and then by the Psyllians and certain Gactulians, and then by the Garamantes, and, still more towards the east, by the Marmaridae, who border to a greater extent on Cyrenaea and extend as far as Ammon. Now it is said that persons going on foot from the recess of the Great Syrtis, from about the neighbourhood of Automala, approximately in the

<sup>1</sup> "Cyclus" is doubtless the Cyclades.

<sup>2</sup> The MSS. read "two thousand stadia."

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "Four Towers."

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<sup>1</sup> τοῦ κατ' Αὐτόμαλά πως, Kramer, for τοὺς κατ' αὐτὸ μαλακῶς.

ἐπὶ χειμερινὰς ἀνατολὰς εἰς Αὔγिला<sup>1</sup> ἀφικνεῖσθαι.  
 ἔστι δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος ἐμπερὴς τῷ "Αμμωνι,  
 φοινικοτρόφος τε καὶ εὐνδρος· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς  
 Κυρηναίας<sup>2</sup> πρὸς μεσημβρίαν· μέχρι μὲν σταδίων  
 ἑκατὸν καὶ δενδροφόρος ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ· μέχρι δ'  
 ἄλλων ἑκατὸν σπείρεται μόνον, οὐκ ὀρυζοτροφεῖ<sup>3</sup>  
 δ' ἡ γῆ διὰ τὸν αὐχμόν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἡ τὸ  
 σίλφιον φέρουσα<sup>4</sup> ἐστίν· εἰθ' ἡ ἀοίκητος καὶ ἡ  
 C 839 τῶν Γαραμάντων. ἔστι δ' ἡ τὸ σίλφιον φέρουσα  
 στενὴ καὶ παραμῆκης καὶ παράξιρος, μήκος μὲν  
 ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἰόντι ὅσον σταδίων χιλίων,  
 πλάτος δὲ τριακοσίων ἢ μικρῷ πλείονων τό γε  
 γνώριμον· εἰκάζειν μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαν πάρεστι  
 διηλεκῶς τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραλλήλου κειμένην  
 τοιαύτην εἶναι κατὰ τε τοὺς ἀέρας καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 φυτοῦ φοράν, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐμπίπτουσιν ἐρημίαι πλείους,  
 οὐ<sup>5</sup> τοὺς πάντας τόπους ἴσμεν. παραπλησίως δ'  
 ἀγνοεῖται καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ "Αμμωνος καὶ τῶν  
 αὐάσεων μέχρι τῆς Αἰθιοπίας. οὐδ' ἂν ἔχοιμεν  
 λέγειν τοὺς ὅρους οὔτε τῆς Αἰθιοπίας οὔτε τῆς  
 Λιβύης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τρανώς,  
 μή τι γε τῆς πρὸς τῷ ὠκεανῷ.

24. Τὰ μὲν οὖν μέρη τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης<sup>6</sup>  
 οὕτω διάκειται· ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν ἀρίστην

<sup>1</sup> εἰς Αὔγिला, Kramer inserts.

<sup>2</sup> τῆς, after Κυρηναίας, Groskurd ejocia.

<sup>3</sup> E reads οὐ ριζοτροφεῖ, other MSS. ὀρυζοτροφεῖ, before which Corais and the later editors insert οὐκ.

<sup>4</sup> φέρουσα, omitted by all MSS. except ε.

<sup>5</sup> οὐ, Hopper inserts.

direction of winter sunrise,<sup>1</sup> arrive at Augila on the fourth day. This region resembles Anmon, being productive of palm-trees and also well supplied with water. It lies above Cyrenaea to the south, and for a distance of one hundred stadia produces trees, but for another hundred the land is only sown, although, on account of its aridity, the land does not grow rice.<sup>2</sup> Above this region is the country which produces silphium; and then one comes to the uninhabited country and to that of the Garamantes. The country which produces silphium is narrow, long, and somewhat arid, extending in length, as one goes approximately towards the east, about one thousand stadia, and in breadth three hundred or a little more, at least that part which is known; for we may conjecture that all lands lying in unbroken succession on the same parallel of latitude are similar as regards both climate and plants, but since several deserts intervene, we do not know all these regions. Similarly, the regions above Anmon and the oases as far as Aethiopia are likewise unknown. Neither can we tell the boundaries either of Aethiopia or of Libya, nor yet accurately even those of the country next to Aegypt, much less of that which borders on the Ocean.

24. This, then, is the lay of the different parts of our inhabited world; but since the Romans occupy

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. I, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> One major MS. reads "roots" instead of "rice" (see critical note).

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<sup>3</sup> Τὰ μὲν οὖν μέρη τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένης (as in 2. 5. 34), Kramer, for τὰ μὲν οὖν μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης (Dhms adding τὰ before μέρη).

αὐτῆς καὶ γνωριμωτάτην κατέχουσιν, ἅπαντας ὑπερβεβλημένοι τοὺς πρότερον ἡγεμόνας, ὧν μνήμην ἴσμεν, ἄξιον καὶ διὰ βραχέων καὶ τὰ τούτων εἰπεῖν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐκ μιᾶς ὀρμηθέντες πόλεως τῆς Ῥώμης ἄπασαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔσχον διὰ τὸ πολεμεῖν καὶ πολιτικῶς ἄρχειν, εἴρηται, καὶ διότι μετὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν τὰ κύκλῳ προσεκτῆσαντο, τῇ αὐτῇ ἀρετῇ χρώμενοι. τριῶν δὲ ἡπείρων οὐσῶν, τὴν μὲν Εὐρώπην σχεδόν τι πᾶσαν ἔχουσι, πλὴν τῆς<sup>1</sup> ἔξω τοῦ Ἰστρου καὶ τῶν μεταξὺ τοῦ Ῥήνου καὶ τοῦ Ταναΐδος παρωκεανιτῶν· τῆς δὲ Λιβύης ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλία πᾶσα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἐστίν, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη ἀοίκητός ἐστιν ἢ λυπρῶς καὶ νομαδικῶς οἰκεῖται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς παραλία πᾶσα ὑποχείριός ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ τις τὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ζυγῶν καὶ Ἠνιόχων ἐν λόγῳ τίθεται, ληστρικῶς καὶ νομαδικῶς ζώντων ἐν στενοῖς καὶ λυπροῖς χωρίοις· τῆς δὲ μεσογαίας καὶ τῆς ἐν βάθει τὴν μὲν ἔχουσιν αὐτοί, τὴν δὲ Παρθυαῖοι καὶ οἱ<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ τούτων βάρβαροι, πρὸς τε ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄρκτοις Ἰνδοὶ καὶ Βάκτριοι καὶ Σκύθαι, εἴτ' Ἀραβες καὶ Αἰθίοπες· προστίθεται δὲ ἀέ τι παρ' ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς. ταύτης δὲ τῆς συμπάσης χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἢ μὲν βασιλεύεται, ἢ<sup>3</sup> δ' ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ καλέσαντες ἐπαρχίαν, καὶ πέμπουσιν ἡγεμόνας καὶ φορολόγους. εἰσὶ δὲ τινες

<sup>1</sup> τῶν E.<sup>2</sup> οἱ, omitted by all MSS. except E.<sup>3</sup> ἦν, Corais, for ἢ.<sup>1</sup> 6, 4, 2.<sup>2</sup> Danube.<sup>3</sup> Rhine.<sup>4</sup> Don.<sup>5</sup> See 11, 2, 12.<sup>6</sup> i.e. on the south.

the best and the best known portions of it, having surpassed all former rulers of whom we have record, it is worth while, even though briefly, to add the following account of them. Now I have already stated<sup>1</sup> that, setting out with only one city, Rome, the Romans acquired the whole of Italy through warfare and statesmanlike rulership, and that, after Italy, by exercising the same superior qualities, they also acquired the regions round about Italy. And of the continents, being three in number, they hold almost the whole of Europe, except that part of it which lies outside the Ister<sup>2</sup> River and the parts along the ocean which lie between the Rhenus<sup>3</sup> and the Tanais<sup>4</sup> Rivers. Of Libya, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them; and the rest of the country is uninhabited or else inhabited only in a wretched or nomadic fashion. In like manner, of Asia also, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them, unless one takes into account the regions of the Achaei and the Zygi and the Heniochi,<sup>5</sup> who live a piratical and nomadic life in narrow and sterile districts; and of the interior and the country deep inland, one part is held by the Romans themselves and another by the Parthians and the barbarians beyond them; and on the east and north live Indians and Bactrians and Scythians, and then<sup>6</sup> Arabians and Aethiopians; but some further portion is constantly being taken from these peoples and added to the possessions of the Romans. Of this whole country that is subject to the Romans, some parts are indeed ruled by kings, but the Romans retain others themselves, calling them Provinces, and send to them praefects and collectors of tribute. But there are also some free cities,

καὶ ἐλεύθεραι πόλεις, αἱ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ φιλίαν προσελθούσαι, τὰς δ' ἡλευθέρωσαν αὐτοὶ κατὰ τιμὴν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ δυνάσται τινὲς καὶ φύλαρχοι καὶ ἱερεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ ζῶσι κατὰ τινὰς πατρίους νόμους.

C 840 25. Αἱ δ' ἐπαρχίαι διήρηνται ἄλλοτε μὲν ἄλλως, ἐν δὲ τῷ παρόντι, ὡς Καῖσαρ ὁ Σεβαστὸς διέταξεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ πατὴρ ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν προστασίαν τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης κατέστη κύριος διὰ βίου, δίχα διεῖλε πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀπέδειξεν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν δὲ τῷ δήμῳ· ἑαυτῷ μὲν, ὅση στρατιωτικῆς φρουρᾶς ἔχει χρεῖαν (αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ βάρβαρος καὶ πλησιόχωρος τοῖς μήπω κεχειρωμένοις ἔθνεσιν ἢ λυπρὰ καὶ δυσγεώργητος, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῶν ἄλλων, ἐρυμάτων δ' εὐπορίας ἀφηνιάζειν καὶ ἀπειθεῖν), τῷ δήμῳ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην, ὅση<sup>1</sup> εἰρηνικὴ καὶ χωρὶς ὅπλων ἄρχεσθαι ῥαδία· ἑκατέραν δὲ τὴν μερίδα εἰς ἐπαρχίας διένειμε πλείους, ὧν αἱ μὲν καλοῦνται Καίσαρος, αἱ δὲ τοῦ δήμου. καὶ εἰς μὲν τὰς Καίσαρος ἡγεμόνας<sup>2</sup> καὶ διοικητὰς Καῖσαρ πέμπει, διαιρῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰς χώρας καὶ πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς πολιτευόμενος, εἰς δὲ τὰς δημοσίας ὁ δῆμος στρατηγούς ἢ ὑπάτους. καὶ αὗται δ' εἰς μερισμοὺς ἄγονται διαφόρους, ἐπειδὴν

<sup>1</sup> ὅση F, ὅσην ἦν other MSS.

<sup>2</sup> ἡγεμόνας, Casaubon, for ἡγεμονίας F, ἡγεμονίας other MSS.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. "tribal chiefs."

<sup>2</sup> In Latin *principatus*.

<sup>3</sup> During office called "propraetors."

of which some came over to the Romans at the outset as friends, whereas others were set free by the Romans themselves as a mark of honour. There are also some potentates and phylarchs<sup>1</sup> and priests subject to them. Now these live in accordance with certain ancestral laws.

25. But the Provinces have been divided in different ways at different times, though at the present time they are as Augustus Caesar arranged them; for when his native land committed to him the foremost place<sup>2</sup> of authority and he became established as lord for life of war and peace, he divided the whole of his empire into two parts, and assigned one portion to himself and the other to the Roman people; to himself, all parts that had need of a military guard (that is, the part that was barbarian and in the neighbourhood of tribes not yet subdued, or lands that were sterile and difficult to bring under cultivation, so that, being unprovided with everything else, but well provided with strongholds, they would try to throw off the bridle and refuse obedience), and to the Roman people all the rest, in so far as it was peaceable and easy to rule without arms; and he divided each of the two portions into several Provinces, of which some are called "Provinces of Caesar" and the others "Provinces of the People." And to the "Provinces of Caesar" Caesar sends legati<sup>3</sup> and procurators, dividing the countries in different ways at different times and administering them as the occasion requires, whereas to the "Provinces of the People" the people send praetors or proconsuls, and these Provinces also are brought under different divisions whenever expediency requires. But at the outset



κελεύη τὸ συμφέρον. ἀλλ' ἐν ἀρχαῖς γε<sup>1</sup> διέθηκε ποιήσας ὑπατικάς μὲν δύο, Λιβύην τε, ὅση ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἔξω τῆς ὑπὸ Ἰούβα μὲν πρότερον, νῦν δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ ἐκείνου παιδί, καὶ Ἀσίαν τὴν ἐντὸς Ἀλυσος καὶ τοῦ Ταύρου πλὴν Γαλατῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀμύντα γενομένων ἐθνῶν, ἔτι δὲ Βιθυνίας καὶ τῆς Προποντίδος· δέκα δὲ στρατηγικάς,<sup>2</sup> κατὰ μὲν τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰς πρὸς αὐτῇ νήσους τήν τε ἐκτὸς Ἰβηρίαν λεγομένην, ὅση περὶ τὸν Βαῖτιν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν Ἄναν<sup>3</sup> καὶ τῆς Κελτικῆς τὴν Ναρβωνίτιν, τρίτην δὲ Σαρδῶ μετὰ Κύρνου, καὶ Σικελίαν τετάρτην, πέμπτην δὲ καὶ ἕκτην τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος τὴν πρὸς τῇ Ἠπείρῳ καὶ Μακεδονίᾳ, ἑβδόμην δ' Ἀχαίαν μέχρι Θετταλίας καὶ Λιτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν καὶ τινων Ἠπειρωτικῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο, ὀγδόην δὲ Κρήτην μετὰ τῆς Κυρηναίας, ἐννάτην δὲ Κύπρον, δεκάτην δὲ Βιθυνίαν μετὰ τῆς Προποντίδος καὶ τοῦ Πόντου τινῶν μερῶν. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἐπαρχίας ἔχει Καῖσαρ, ὧν εἰς ἃς μὲν πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους ὑπατικούς ἀνδρας, εἰς ἃς δὲ στρατηγικούς, εἰς ἃς δὲ καὶ ἱππικούς. καὶ βασιλεῖς δὲ καὶ δυνάσται καὶ δεκαρχίαι τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπῆρξαν αἰέ.

<sup>1</sup> γε, Corais, for τε.

<sup>2</sup> στρατηγικάς, Corais, for στρατηγίας.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ τὸν Ἄναν, editors before Kramer, for καὶ τὸν Ἀτακα (Ἀττακα MSS.), which is suspected by later editors and ojected by Meineke.

Caesar organised the Provinces of the People by creating, first, two consular provinces; I mean (1) Libya, in so far as it was subject to the Romans, except the part which was formerly subject to Juba and is now subject to Ptolemy his son, and (2) the part of Asia that lies this side the Halys River and the Taurus, except the countries of the Galatians and of the tribes which had been subject to Amyntas, and also of Bithynia and the Propontis; and, secondly, ten praetorial provinces, first, in Europe and the islands near it, I mean (1) Iberia Ulterior, as it is called, in the neighbourhood of the Baetis and Anas<sup>1</sup> Rivers, (2) Narbonitis in Celtica, (3) Sardo<sup>2</sup> together with Cyrrus,<sup>3</sup> (4) Sicily, (5 and 6) Macedonia and, in Illyria, the country next to Epeirus, (7) Achaea as far as Thessaly and Actolia and Acarnania and certain Epeirotic tribes which border on Macedonia, (8) Crete along with Cyrenaea, (9) Cypros, and (10) Bithynia along with the Propontis and certain parts of the Pontus. But the rest of the Provinces are held by Caesar; and to some of these he sends as curators men of consular rank, to others men of praetorian rank, and to others men of the rank of knights. Kings, also, and potentates and decarchies are now, and always have been, in Caesar's portion.

<sup>1</sup> "Anas" is a correction for "Atax," the Atax being the present Aude in France.

<sup>2</sup> Sardinia.

<sup>3</sup> Corsica.





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A. GIBSON AND "SQUID" V. CHILDS, JR.  
 UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE  
BUREAU OF PLANT INDUSTRY  
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the 1990s, the number of people in the world who are illiterate has increased from 1.2 billion to 1.5 billion. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015. The number of illiterate people in the world is expected to reach 1.7 billion by the year 2015.

1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971) using a Shimadzu 1601 UV-Visible Spectrophotometer. The concentration of chlorophyll was expressed in  $\mu\text{g mL}^{-1}$ .

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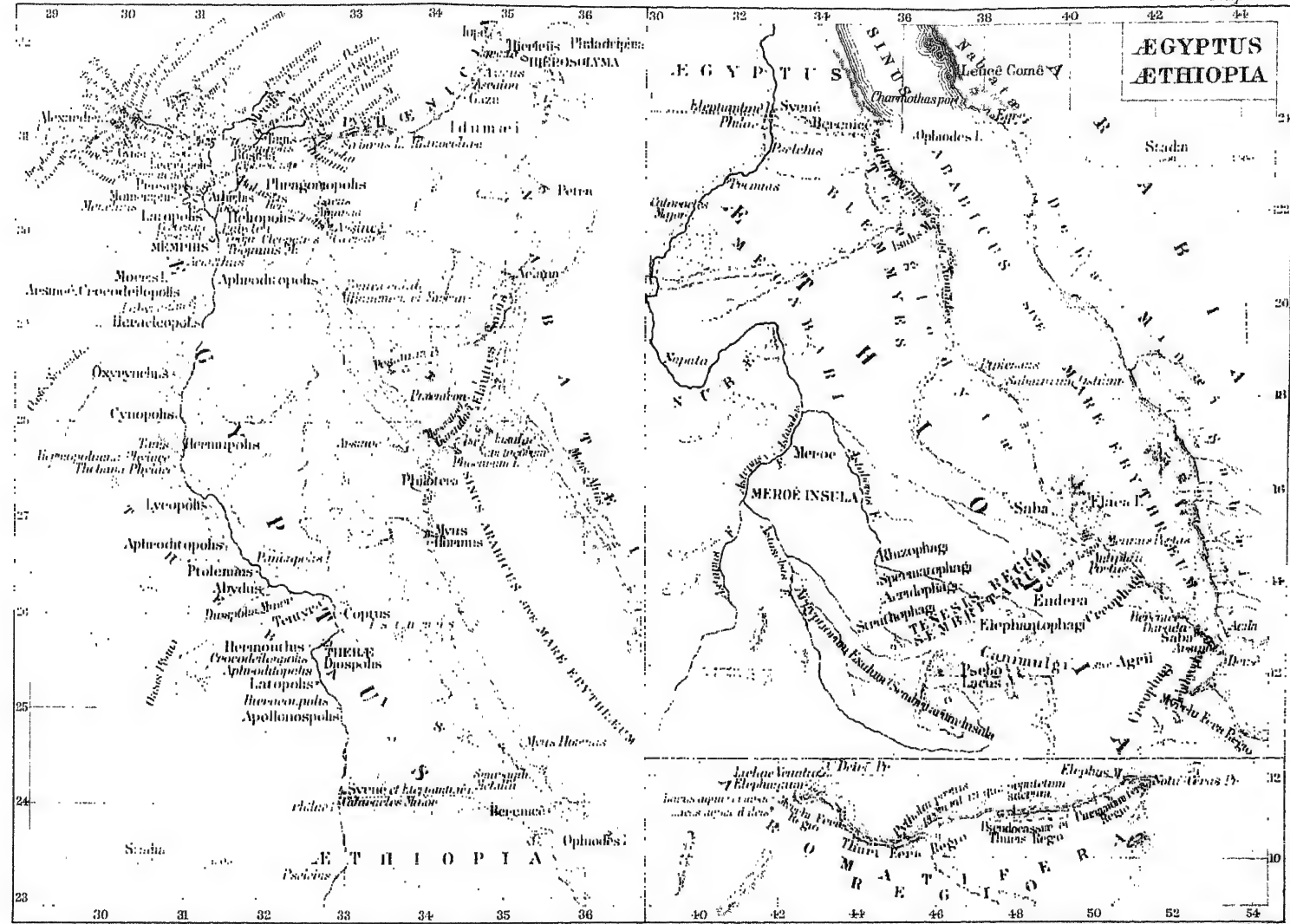
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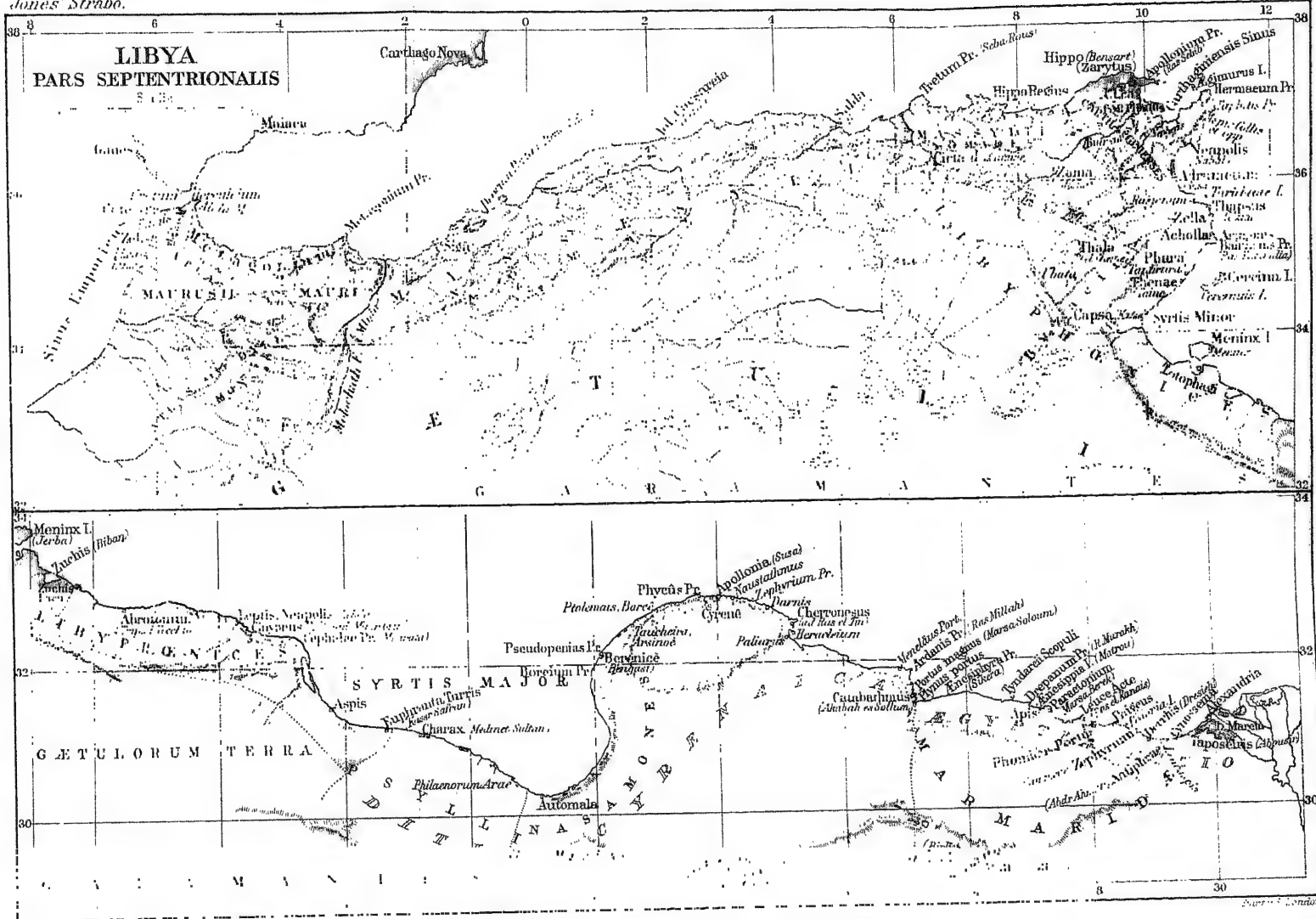


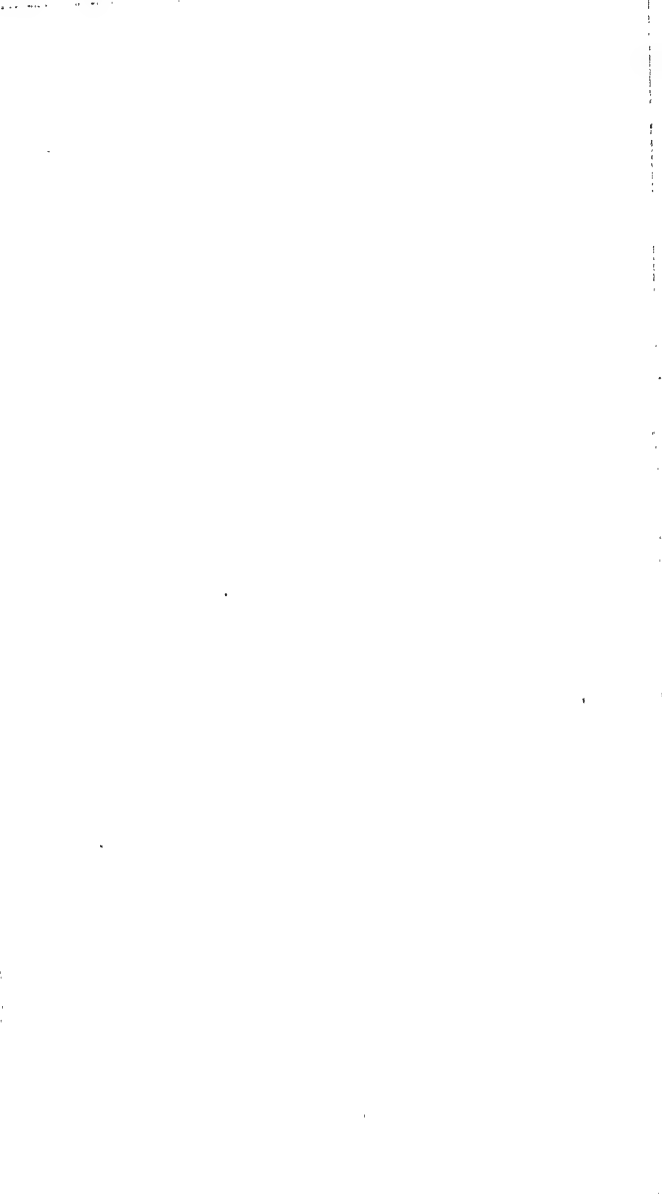
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